



1967

The Significance of Hostility as Related to Adjustment and Maladjustment in Marriage

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Recommended Citation

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The Significance of Hostility as Related to
Adjustment and Maladjustment in Marriage

by

Manuel A. Barroso, S.J.

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate
School of Loyola University in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirement
for the Degree of
Master of Arts
December
1967

Acknowledgements

The writer wishes to express his appreciation to Dr. Leroy Wauck for his encouragement and the direction of this investigation. He is greatly indebted to Rev. James Murtaugh Associate Director of the Catholic Family Consultation Services and Miss Bernatte Mickie Director of Casework Services, and to other members of the staff of the same Agency for their kind assistance.

The cooperation of happily and unhappily married couples who volunteered to participate in this study is also appreciated. Without their generosity this study would have been practically impossible.

Finally my sincerest thanks are extended to Miss Mary Ann Adams for her time and dedication in helping to collect and organize the data of our study, and to Mrs. Ann Murray for her generous secretarial assistance.

Life

Manuel Barroso, S.J. was born in Caracas, Venezuela, on the first day of January, 1930. He joined the Society of Jesus in 1946 and was immediately sent to Spain and France for his studies on Liberal Arts and Philosophy. He obtained a Bachelor degree on Classic and Modern Literature 1951, and a Licenciature of Philosophy in 1955. The next three years were spent back in Caracas teaching at St. Ignatius' High School. In 1958 he was sent to West Baden, Ind. to complete his studies of Theology, where he obtained his Licenciature in Theology in 1962. Then he was sent for further pastoral training to Montreal, Canada. He returned to Chicago and started graduate work in the Department of Education where he obtained a M. Ed in 1964. After this he started graduate work for a Master of Arts degree in Psychology. For the past two years he has been actively involved in Marriage Counseling and Therapy with the Catholic Family Consultation Service.

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Introduction

When dealing with the problems of the mental health of the family as a unit it seems easy to get involved and concerned with generalities failing to investigate the most elementary basis of the UNIT. Studies on family dynamics in general and marriage problems specifically have often lacked objectivity and validity despite the effort toward elegant experimental designs.

Too often these studies have discussed dynamics without the understanding of it's components.

Our study is on marriage itself. As professionals involved in the job of helping dysfunctional families and sick marriages we have felt the need to understand marriage first, and to try to bridge the gap existing at least as far as research is concerned between these two realities. After all as Ackerman has noted "the family begins with marriage and disorders of marital interaction hold a place of focal importance in family dynamics and development". (Ackerman, 1953)

We propose a more inclusive, hierarchical if you wish, approach when studying the problems of marriage and family. It is only when we fully understand without guesswork the marital interaction that we are equipped to study the family dynamics and we can afford to attempt to ascertain the ongoing processes.

Our study is specifically on marriage. This for us is an important observation. A good many authors have taken marriage and family as synonymous. We want to avoid this. Of course in vulgarizations of research findings this interchangeability of concepts would be permissible, but for research purposes it would be misleading and confusing (Christensen, 1964). Marriage as we understand it is an institutionalized mating between human males and fe-

males in a process of interaction. What justifies a study on marriage now? Besides the reasons already mentioned we can present the following observations:

1. Our culture determines marriage as the normal status for adults. Studies indicate that the desire to become married is almost universal among populations (Miles & Koonce, 1958) (Parker & Glick, 1967)
2. This expectation on the part of society and individuals has created pressures generating anxiety in those who marry and in those who do not marry as well.
3. Marriage as such represents achievement. Getting married is the door to status and power. To marry means to gain status in the family, community, profession (Bossard, 1944)
4. Besides status, the individuals involved - husband and wife seek to obtain satisfaction as individuals and as a group in a relationship in which the qualities of intimacy and romance are greatly stressed by our culture. Furthermore it is expected to be a UNIT of interacting personalities looking for happiness.
5. This happiness is not always possible or easy. Lack of personality resources and situational contingencies challenge the couple from the moment of their marriage. Un-

fortunately lack of emotional preparation and unreadiness makes a good number of these marriages end up in failure.

6. Frustration leads to failure, normal ways of communication are shut and the couple recur to more complex process of interaction and communication. (Riskin, 1967. Eateson, Jackson, Haley, Weekland, 1956). Hostility expressed either verbally or physically or phantasied seems to underline this new phase. The outcome is deterioration of the relationship the increasing of symptoms and maladjustment and unhealthy patterns of dealing with the conflicts and with the environment as well.

The forementioned observations indicate the importance of marriage in our society as a natural habitat for growth and development of the individual as a social being and indirectly reflect the need for studies on the subject.

But what constitutes a happy marriage? It is hard to find a valid answer. When reading the present literature we are amazed to find a good number of confusing and contradictory statements made by experienced professionals in the field. This confusion is not unexpected or incongruous for some amount of confusion fosters creative thinking in the behavioral sciences research but oversimplifications such as one encounters in some publications, "Eight

reasons why marriage goes wrong" (Bossard, 1964), "How to succeed in marriage" or in some chapter of a book published by W. Bier, Marriage a Psychological and Moral Approach, (1965) and the amount of unscientific literature published in regard to sexual adjustment, which gives us the impression that marital problems are a sort of failure in the knowing how to do things and the solution resides in a good sincere determination to apply ready-made formulas by the parties involved. The fact of the matter is that, as has been pointed out many times elsewhere (Boszormenyi-Magy & Framo, 1965), underneath the symptoms of an unhappy marriage there are unhappy individuals and the emergence of a neurosis or compensatory mechanisms for disturbed partners (Ackerman, 1958, Kubie, 1961, 1967).

With this clarification let us go back to our initial question: what is a happy marriage? The best answer to this question would be to adduce the testimony of hundreds of couples who thought of themselves as happy and successful and expressed what they had experienced through the years of married life. In other words, direct observation and recording of their happy behavior.

Basically for our purpose here we can say that a happy marriage is a relationship in which husband and wife experience personal satisfaction and the opportunity for growth and development as individuals and as a couple as well (Sirjamaki, 1948;

Boszormenyi - Nagy & Framo, 1965). More on this later in our study.

For the time being we want to study marriage as it is: two people with two different backgrounds, different personality characteristics, involved in an interacting process of growth and development. More specifically we want to concern ourselves with the negative features, of what happens when this interaction is stalled and hindered to the point that development is not possible anymore and frustration and resentment arise as the bitter outcome of the relationship.

In approaching our topic of study, it must be kept in mind what is actually taking place in the field of family research. Professionals are becoming increasingly concerned with improving objectively the precision and generalizability of their finding. Levinger (1963) recommends a method which will be a "combination of several other research methods," specifically one which will encompass "direct behavioral observation and together with indirect report by family members or other respondents." The main advantage of such approach would be the implementation of both subjective and objective records of family relationships in a way that "introspection and external inspection appears to supplement one another in a useful way".

No doubt such an approach has definite values

although it may be impractical for us since the character of our study is less developmental than interactional. Furthermore we cannot confine ourselves to one method or technique. The need today is for a more imaginative methodology. We think of our study as a progressive method basically consisting of two stages: a preliminary stage which would imply gathering and selection and analysis of information, following Haley's suggested traditional ways: social-anthropological, statistical, individual and interactional and a second stage which will consist of the theory-forming approach, putting all the pieces together in a meaningful manner (Haley, 1964).

There are two main obstacles which we have to avoid: first, the concentration on individual characteristics. It could be highly deceptive if we are interested in the process itself. The tremendous number of variables involved in a marital relationship can take us away from our main purpose and emphasize more individual differences overlooking the totality of the processes. Even if we recognize individuals as contributing to the relationship it would be misleading and completely meaningless to try to ascertain their value. The important thing is not that, not even the outcome, but the total inner process. (Ackerman, 1958)

A second obstacle is guesswork. Guesswork is

easy to employ in research. In psychiatry and psychology especially the problem resides in collecting and categorizing data which cannot ultimately be rigorous because it is inferential in nature. A category is inferential whenever you must infer whether something happens or whether or not a certain fact or state exists. When we use raters we are guessing. The investigator must guess. It may be a good guess based upon facts but still a guess and if our measurements depend on a guess, and then we build further inferences upon them, the entire structure is built upon quicksand. This does not mean that we have to abandon research because at one particular stage of our study we cannot collect the ideal data. We have to abandon guessing as an end in itself and seek for new methods of reliability, imaginative methods with which we may study the human being without losing appreciation of its totality and objectivity (Haley, 1964).

Our study will have two different parts: The first part is taken directly from direct observation and embraces all these aspects mentioned by Haley: statistical, anthropological, individual and interactional, and the second part will be devoted to conclusions and projects with the idea in mind of developing a theoretical point of view of marriage. Thus we hope that we will be able to contribute a better understanding of marriage. As Meissner (1964) has observed in regard to the family, "in an area in which

research and thinking are more exploratory than definitive, the student of family dynamics must not confine the scope of his thinking about the family even though he commits himself to an intensification of research effort in relation to a specific level of family interaction and in terms of a pertinent set of investigatory technique. It is important, therefore, that he keeps clearly in mind what kind of question he is asking, what specific facts and aspects in the family he is trying to explain or understand, what the limitations and relevance are of the instruments he chooses and the methods he employs to explore the family organism" (in our case marriage).

CHAPTER I

Review of the Literature

Considerations of the dynamics of marriage needs some kind of frame of reference. This frame of reference in the existing research literature has been at times provided with numbers and figures as if the impressive presentation of numbers would convince anyone of the dereriorating state of affairs.

Statistics present limitations. At times they help us, at times they confuse us failing to convey the whole truth. And this for two reasons: First, because our instruments of observation and analysis are still in an imperfect stage of development. We are dealing with marriage interactional process, a non-measurable entity that escapes our methodology. Secondly, because as has been pointed out, marital difficulties imply more than divorce or separation. There are other forms of marriage and family disso-

lution: empty shell families, forms of 'emotional divorces' as Bowen has called them, (Bowen 1961).

We can, however, get the feeling of what is contained behind the figures through the perusal and discussion of the literature. These studies also have their own limitations, but even so there are bits of truth and progress in each one of them. If we put them together and try to evaluate the whole trend we may get a better understanding of what is taking place in marriage, between husband and wife.

What has been written can be categorized as either

- a) descriptive, a superficial, almost journalistic exposition of facts, ignoring what has been called the "psyshosocial interior" of marriage. Hundreds of books and pamphlets that for different reasons talk about marriage in terms of formulas and recipes. A "how to succeed..." approach. And if there is no success then the impression one gets is as if one of the partners is responsible for the breakdown, and the other the innocent victim.
- b) A second category could be writers who emphasize the socio-economic aspects of marriage, environmentalists if you wish, considering the couple as struggling marionettes in the midst of powerful forces. Very seldom these writers make the distinction between marriage and family, giving the impression of one and the same thing.
- c) Finally, just recently

we have become aware of the complexity of our task. Overgeneralizations are less abundant and specific research is more common. It is the process itself which is under observation. A piecemeal sort of approach which may present definitive disadvantages but which in the long run will bring better understanding. We want to understand the process itself in a "here and now" situation. Not the process in abstract but "as happening" between these two individuals acting within their own evolutive environment. This is certainly the consideration of marriage and marriage problems as a whole.

Studies on Psychological Factors in Marriage

The first objective study on marriage was done by Davis, (1929) a social economist and penologist, followed by another study conducted by Burgess & Cottrell, (1936) on predicting success or failure in marriage. They found that the outstanding factors in marital adjustment seem to be those of affection, temperamental compatibility and social adaptability. The biological and economic factors are of less importance and appear to be largely determined by these other factors. Terman & Bottenwieser, (1935, 1938) pioneered investigations on the personality as a factor in marital happiness and they found a low or negligible relationship

between personality and marital happiness although certain individual items appear to be appreciably related to marital happiness. These findings were contradicted by another study in which Terman (1936) himself found that 140 of a total list of 233 personality items showed an appreciable correlation with marital happiness. Kirkpatrick (1937) found personality to be a significant variable when seeking to determine factors in marital adjustment and Himes, (1949), trying to determine the cause of the high divorce rate in the United States, concluded that personality is the chief determiner of successful and happy marriages.

There is a general agreement among the investigators as to their findings. The amount of discrepancy at this early stage of research could well be explained either by the dearth of instruments sensitive enough to the reality to be measured, or by the ambiguity and looseness of the concepts of personality and happiness used as variables in these investigations. Personality, for instance, has been understood as "an objective fact" interpreted according to different conceptual orientations. We feel that there is a fallacy in this because these concepts are essentially a complex of many variables.

Burgess, & Wallin, (1953) practically reached the same conclusions as Locke, (1951) in his study Predicting Ad-

justment in Marriage: a comparison of divorced and happily married couples. They defined the personality characteristics involved in marital happiness. According to their findings ten factors are important for success or failure in marriage: love and display of affection, sexual adjustment, emotional dependence, compatibility in temperament and personality, influence of cultural backgrounds, reaction to domesticity, expectations of success in marriage, cooperativeness and adaptability.

Benson, (1952) concentrated on a more specific aspect of personality, that of the interests of the couple. But his results are pretty much the same as in the previous studies. He stated that whereas certain types of interest sharing, contribute to successful marriage, others do not. Mutuality of interests in home, children, romantic love, sexual relations and religion are more prevalent among happy, well-adjusted couples. Poorly adjusted couples shared interests of fame or success, drinking, money, travel, entertainment and companionship to avoid loneliness.

More recently Pickford, & Signori, (1966) have designed a study to test the hypothesis, first, that similar or related personality traits as measured by the Guilford-Zimmermann Temperament Survey are significantly related to marital happiness and second, that dissimilar or unrelated personality traits are

significantly related to marital unhappiness. The Guilford-Zimmermann is a personality inventory designed to measure personality traits identified by factor analysis. The hypothesis was supported. The authors concluded with a warning against generalizations outside the traits as determined by correlational procedures.

Surveys of the existing literature (Taft, 1955, Brynner & Tagiuri, 1954) and perusal of individual articles indicate that there has been in the last decade a shift and reorientation of research toward the areas of perception and needs satisfaction.

Two main theories of marital interaction can be distinguished: The Theory of Interpersonal Perceptions and the Theory of Compatibility of Needs. Let us take a look at the literature connected with these two theories. The Interpersonal Perception Theory's basic premise is that interpersonal relationships depend in large part on what an individual thinks he is and what he thinks the other person is. It is perception on which the expectations of self and the other are based and on which understanding and communication are largely dependent. Important to the satisfaction of the marriage, then, is one's perception of his own personality and that of his mate.

The conceptual framework for this theory has been advanced by Mangus (1959) and generally supported in terms of personality theory by phenomenologists, self-theorists and social psy-

chologists (Dai, 1952, Heider, 1944, Lewin, 1935, Newcomb, 1950, Rogers, 1951, Sullivan, 1949, Symonds, 1956, Laing, 1966, and Schutz, 1953).

Back in 1941 Kelly, L. noted already that after having studied data collected from 300 couples at the time of their engagement, personal satisfaction which a husband experiences in his marriage relationship is significantly related both to his feelings of self-regard and to the judgment of the superiority or inferiority of his own personality in comparison to that of his spouse. Preston, & Peltz, (1952) departed from the above mentioned notion of personality. For them it was "an impression which is formed by another person." From this viewpoint they raised questions as to the way in which such an impression is affected by the presence of interpersonal conflicts and they focused rather on social perception as a determinant of marital happiness. Happily married partners, they claimed, exhibit materially higher correlations on their ratings of themselves and their partners than do unhappily married partners. The self-rating of husbands and wives have negligible correlation. They offered the following explanation of their results: "The results of this study are a direct consequence of the fact that people on the opposite sides of a conflict situation have more opportunities to take note of their opponent as different rather than similar to themselves

whereas persons with strong affective feelings, producing a wish for identification, tend to see their partners as similar rather than dissimilar to themselves." Dymond, (1954) suggested that happiness in marriage is related to understanding and also similarity of self-perceptions. Understanding was understood as the accuracy of prediction by a husband or a wife of the mate's self-description on a personality questionnaire.

All this time there had been progress toward a general theory of human behavior including: perception, behavior and consequences. Consequences such as happiness will be a function of behavior which in turn is a function of perception. Rogers' theory of personality is of this kind. "The organism reacts to the field as it is experienced and perceived. This perceptual field is for the individual, reality" (Rogers, 1951). Corsini, (1956) proposes the following postulate: "Satisfaction in marriage is a function of behavioral interaction of couples which in turn is determined by social perceptions. If perceptions can be understood, then behavioral and affective consequences can be predicted."

Corsini, (1956) tested 20 couples at the University of Chicago and concluded that there is no evidence that happiness in marriage is a function of understanding the mate nor that understanding the mate is a function of similarity of the selves or the

mates. There is, however evidence that happiness in marriage is associated with a similarity of self-perception of the mates. This study raised doubts about the validity of some other investigations such as those of Dymond, Winch & Ktsanes for their lack of control groups.

Eastman, (1953) chose Self-Acceptance and Marital Happiness (MH). Self-acceptance was chosen as a personality measure because it is a relatively homogeneous variable based on a developed theory of personality with explicit clinical implications. The experiment consisted in scoring a sample of married couples on two questionnaires, one for Marital Happiness and one for Self-Acceptance, and correlating the two sets of scores. This scheme was further complicated by further investigating few other personality variables. He found that MH is related to self-acceptance, acceptance of others and psychological status in both subjects and their mates, a) to self-acceptance in both sexes, b) to acceptance of other probably in wives and c) to psychological status probably only in husbands. The relation of marital happiness to self-acceptance, acceptance of others and psychological status is affected in several other measurable ways by average psychological differences between the two sexes.

Luckey, (1960) found that husbands and wives who indicated that they were satisfied with their marriage were those

whose perceptions were in greater agreement with each other than were the perceptions of the couples who were unsatisfied. The same author (1964) made a study seeking to determine the degree of correlation that exists between the subject's expressed marital satisfaction and a) his perception of himself and b) his perceptions of his spouse in terms of descriptive personality variables. The main assumption that there is a reliable association between the degree of satisfaction in marriage and certain kinds of descriptive perceptions of self and of spouse was confirmed. It was suggested furthermore that perceptions of self and spouse form the basis of marital interaction.

The second theory of Marital interaction, the Theory of Complementary Needs, has as its foremost advocate Robert Winch (1943, 1953). The primary hypothesis of the theory is that 'In mate-selection the need-pattern of each spouse will be complementary rather than similar to the need-pattern of the other spouse'. (Winch, 1955). With 25 married couples, Needs-interviews (forty-five open-ended questions) and case-history interviews were held followed by the administration of eight cards of the TAT to each subject. The variables used included twelve needs (abasement, achievement, approach, autonomy, deference, dominance, hostility, nurturance, recognition, status aspiration, status striving and

succorance) and three general traits (anxiety, emotionality and vicariousness). Thus fifteen variables were converted into forty-four variables. Because thirty five of the forty four variables correlated negatively and statistically significant the hypothesis of complementary patterns was in Winch's opinion, supported.

Rosow (1957) criticized Winch for using many different need ratings on a given subject as if they were discrete and independent variables. He suggested that need complementarity be analyzed within a framework of global personality types. (Rosow) From a Q-type factor analysis, using Thurstone's centroid, method of factoring, and based upon Winch's subjects and variables, Ktsanes derived four factors: A. yielding dependency, B. Hostile dominance, C. Mature nurturance, D. Neurotic self-depreciation. Ktsanes (1955) concluded his study: 'the principle of polar attraction operates systematically only in the case of some specified need patterns. This suggests that the complementary need hypothesis is a more complicated principle than the mere principle of 'opposites attract'.

Winch in his most recent work, Mate Selection, (1958) presents the development of an extended qualitative analysis of contrasting patterns or needs. He describes four distinct types of marital complementariness: The Mother-Son type in which the wife is Dominant and maternal, while the husband passive and non-aggressive.

The Ibsenian type where the male is the dominant, nurturant mate and the female is childishly dependant. The Master-Servant Girl type where the males are overtly dominant and covertly dependant. The wives have a traditional view of the status of women. The Thurberian type in which husbands inhibit the expression of their feelings, the wives are highly expressive. As a result of this analysis he established a typology of three types of complementariness for he was 'neither certain that the types are mutually exclusive nor that they represent a fullness of possibilities'.

The hypothesis of complementary needs has been attacked from many different angles, for many different reasons. First there is the question of methodology. Corsini (1956) complained about the lack of control groups in the original study. Bowman (1955) criticized the limited evidence available of the qualification of the interviewers or judges. Goodman (1962) questioned the basic assumptions of the study that people have segregated needs in contrast to general personality needs. "Needs are segregated according to diverse social roles thereby deriving gratification in some roles in contrast to others. When certain roles tend to activate needs selectively there is no problem. However difficulty arises in those roles which offer opportunity of satisfaction to a

wide range of needs" We can also point out the fact that no criteria of homogeneity are reported. And the lack of cross validation makes the tendency to generalize findings unjustified.

Finally there is also the question of Murray's needs and the TAT as instrument to measure these needs. The results of the study showed that the TAT ratings were the least favorable of the three sources for testing the hypothesis. These data were more often than chance in opposition to Winch's postulates. It is noteworthy that only half of the correlations derived from case-history data were in the hypothesized direction. As a result of this global analysis, many permutations were found to be in the direction as hypothesized.

Bowerman & Day (1956) tried to test Winch's hypothesis employing the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS), on the assumption that the assesment of variables was similar even if the instruments of measurement was not. Their results offered little support for Winch's hypothesis. The main shortcoming of this study is the hypothesis itself that "every variable should correlate interspously with every other variable in a positive direction" which is an assumption that does not seem to be justified on the basis of complementarity as described by Winch. The study cannot be viewed as a valid replication of Winch's Study.

Katz, Gluckberg, S. & Krauss, R. (1958) tried to get more evidence on husband and wife relationship. They administered a modified form of the EPPS to 56 couples and a questionnaire for measuring degrees of need gratification afforded by the spouse. They hypothesized interspousal complementarity of needs of mates as well as attempting to determine the relationship between satisfaction in marriage and need scores. The results did not support the theory of complementarity of needs. Degree of total satisfaction of wives was not consistently related to interspousal need complementarity, but total satisfaction of husband was positively associated with interpersonal complementarity in four needs pairing. Reliability and validity statements are lacking for the short form of the EPPS and which is said to measure need satisfaction.

For Freud the libido is the source of all love-energy. The libido is channelized toward various objects through a process called cathexis. There are several stages of cathexis: autoeroticism, narcissism and object-cathexis. The latter can be subdivided into: a love of the parent of one's own sex, a love of the parent of the opposite sex and the mature love or an outside person of the opposite sex. The libido can become fixated upon any object at any stage of development. Normally the libido will shift to new objects until one is found which tends to provide satisfaction.

When the shift is impossible and object is futile, this kind of love is called neurotic (Freud, S. 1949). Many writers have tried to implement the theory of the Freudian assumptions and the theory of complementariness. (Ackerman, 1954; Eisenstein, 1956).

The studies we have just reviewed reveal that progress has been made in terms of conceptualizations and methodology. Grayson & Tolman (1950) in a serantic study of clinical concepts stated as the most striking finding of the study "the looseness and ambiguity of the definitions of many of the terms". Up to the present time verbalizations and conceptualizations have clearly lagged behind the useful clinical application of psychological terms. There has been a positive effort to sharpen concepts, to specify what is to be measured, avoiding overlapping of variables. Operational definitions are more frequent now although some investigators have neglected to inquire into the meaning of them.

Methodology has improved too. It has become more objective and more imaginative. The traditional questionnaires or interviews from which most data has been derived are being substituted by combinations of research methods, specifically direct observation together with indirect report by either husband or wife. Situational tests are being used more and more because they can provide a relatively constant backdrop on which marriage interaction

can be pictured and observed. Many of the studies of the past will have to be redone within the perspectives of these new conceptualizations and better research methods. We still have a long way to go. A whole lot from the field of Social Perception has to be assimilated and integrated into the field of marriage dynamics. Some attempts have been made based on the theoretical principles of Interpersonal Theory of Personality as formulated by Timothy Leary. (1957) Heider's dyadic relationship (1953) and Schutz's three dimensional theory of behavior: Inclusion, control and affection. (1953)

Overview of the thesis

Thomas Kunn in his book The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (1962), made the point that changes in conventional beliefs occur not from slowly moving philosophical cause or from step-by-step research but from new discovery that represents a departure or a breakthrough.

The observation is valid as to how progress has taken place in sciences in general. But I think that it is also valid with respect to the individual's realization of scientific truth. In other words, ideas that change or determine your total orientation in life are not step-by-step findings but discoveries that all of a sudden break into your mind. Progress in regard to a satisfactory

theory of Marriage Interaction has been made but is still fragmentary. The over-all feeling is that we are in the right direction but that a breakthrough has yet to come.

When doing therapy with married couples I have often wondered about the effectiveness of my work. It seemed to me that the only couples I was really reaching were the couples which wanted to be reached in the first place, the ones sufficiently equipped with personality resources and sufficiently involved with each other that in all likelihood they would help themselves. If this is true, the whole traditional approach to psychotherapy becomes very questionable.

This kept coming back to me until one day when engaged with a young couple in the discussion of their marital difficulties, I became aware of a process running through and underneath the vast portion of their interaction and disguised in many shapes and forms that could be accounted for most of the marital dynamics of the couple. If I could only detect it and capitalize on its values I probably would have hit upon a rich vein that could be thought as a breakthrough in the understanding of the whole process of marital interaction. I could also foresee the therapeutic implications of this new conceptualization. This is how I got interested in the analysis of hostility between married partners. It

was probably a practical matter to save time, money, and energies but it was also an internal need on my part to look for a conceptual frame of reference to justify what I was doing.

Now there are a couple of observations I would like to present here. The first observations after reading more than one thousand "social intakes" from the files of the Catholic Family Consultation Service, in Chicago, is that when a couple comes seeking help, as the last recourse, in a series of trials to "hold this marriage together," the reason for coming is that they have decided that they need help, but the real motivation is no other than the needs on both sides to deal with their increasing anxiety and to find a "third party" who might by reason of training and prestige be able to make the Soloronic decision of who is to blame in this present situation and who is not, alleviating the existing pressures.

In their first interview the mates engage in an endless, tedious presentation of complaints and symptoms that according to them, if removed, will produce radical changes and bring happiness to their marriage. The complaints range from poor sexual adjustment to in-laws' interference. This all mistakingly receives the sophisticated title of "lack of communication."

In presenting complaints it appears obvious that the couple is involved in a double type of behavior. Overtly one

can feel the manipulations on both sides to win the "third party" over, the distortions of situations and the amount of misunderstanding blocking communication, plus all sorts of performances and dramatizations to make their point to the third party. The situation resembles that of a "trial." The general outcome is one of failure, disappointment, frustration and resentment. This is the twilight zone. Anything that happens beyond that point is covert behavior of which the couple may or may not be sufficiently aware. The understanding, however, of these inner processes is a richer and more adequate explanation of what is really going on between husband and wife. What is really going on may be utterly different - even the opposite - of what they are saying. Frustration, of course, can be easily reinforced by the feelings of failing in trying to achieve a solution to their problems and the resulting resentment be displaced overtly against each other either verbally (swearing, cursing, verbal abuses, insults) or at times physically (force, physical punishment and abuse), most often though in a symbolized more subtle manner (sexual indifference, drinking, nights out). This is the process that I want to investigate.

From the foregoing observations I have drawn the following hypotheses which will be part of our investigation:

Main Hypothesis:

I. Hostility and Adjustment

I-A Hostility is a function of Maladjustment

I-B This relationship between Hostility and Maladjustment prevails when Hostility is measured by the TAT

II. Origin Of Hostility in Married Couples

II-A Hostility in married couples is a function of two main factors

a. perception of the self

b. perception of the mate

II-B Perception of the self seems to be in terms of own needs and this seems to be more significant than the perception of the mate in the origin of hostility

II-C It includes the general perception of the individual in terms of his own needs and the perception of other individuals in the environment as related to his own self-perception.

Subsidiary Hypotheses:

- I. Hostility is a Gestalt which exists in the individual as a continuum.
- II. The TAT is a valid instrument in measuring hostility and a useful one in counseling married couples.
- III. Different factors may contribute to the origin of hostility but self perception seems to be the most basic factor.
- IV. Self-perception is in terms of the individuals own needs. Mate perception is in function of the individual's self-perception
- V. Although we cannot predict adjustment and happiness from the degree of hostility, we find that hostility is a good indication of marital adjustment or maladjustment.

One word about our approach. We are interested mostly in organization of knowledge not in "knowledge factories." Organization of knowlegde means that it is holistic and comprehensive and oriented to practice or to policy. In order to understand the relationship between hostility and adjustment we must examine larger

areas of the person and larger sections of behavior and environment as well. This is done in a double fashion using the TAT and a few other questionnaires, and the social intake of the couples as a method of behavior observation.

The traditional conceptual dichotomy between two theories, Interpersonal Interaction and Needs-satisfaction, has become somewhat artificial. It seems that each theory would explain a portion of the total behavior. There seems to be no reason to accept one theory to the exclusion of the other. Both seem necessary to explain the total process. This is therefore suggested to merge both theories in one single theoretical framework. Maybe this can constitute, as far as I am concerned, the breakthrough in understanding the whole process better. It certainly may explain hostility as coming from the impasse reached when the needs of the mates are not mutually met and satisfied, the lack of satisfaction being caused by the maladjustive patterns of self and social perceptions.

The purpose of this study in its simplest terms is an attempt to substantiate a specific theoretical framework to marriage counseling, to evaluate the dynamic aspect of the relationship between husband and wife, concentrating on the significance of hostility in relation to adjustment and maladjustment. A second attempt is made later on to understand its origin, trying to integrate the existing theories of marital interaction.

CHAPTER II

Description of the Study-Design

The following chapter will deal specifically with our project-design. In the present chapter we will review some of the main difficulties we have encountered. Our main purpose is to sharpen and clarify our conceptualizations of hostility and marital adjustment and obtain a more realistic appreciation of what we are trying to do. We will finish the chapter with a brief summary of the existing literature on hostility and measurements of hostility. Chapter III will center around concrete aspects of our study, design, variables, criteria of selection and procedure.

Difficulties

In general, to decide to do research with couples instead of individuals is fraught with many practical and theoretical problems. Many of these problems are of method and technique stemming from the primitive state of the conceptual frame of reference in use. Other difficulties come from the conventional prejudices of the couples themselves or the agencies where the research takes place. In the first place there are the many regulations of an agency, always distrustful of innovations, especially if there is no official structured program of research as part of the agency policies. Then there is the difficulty of securing the cooperation and involvement of the agency personnel over a certain period of time. Finally, there are couples suspicious of becoming experimental victims, tired of interviews and intakes and always resentful of the little help they seem to obtain with their problems. Another difficulty is the fact that we are working with couples taken as a whole, not with individuals. It is not the amount of work implied or the number of new variables to be studied but rather the complexities of the interacting and inexperiencing dyad presupposing a completely different frame of reference demanding sharper methods of differentiation. R. Laing & Philipson (1966) have shown this when they administered the IPM to two groups of married couples, namely 12 couples seeking help

(disturbed marriages) and 10 couples satisfied with their marriage (non-disturbed marriages). By the technique of Reciprocally Marched Comparison they were able to look into the relationship itself but also the "phases" of the relationship within the dyadic system. In our study, though, we are more interested in finding out the effect of hostility possibly borne out of the relationship itself in regard to the total unit, to its growth, or what have you.

Sampling

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in our study has to do with the relatively small number of sufficiently homogenous couples selected for the study. The selection was pragmatic. We established twelve criteria to direct us in the final selection of the 60 couples needed for our study. Homogeneity of sample was obtained by increasing the number of criteria or selection (age, education, years of marriage, income, race, nationality, etc.). This way we could control extra-marital factors generating frustration and hostility having nothing to do with the marital situation. Homogeneity reduced the size of our sample affecting usefulness of our results, but at least we gained in representativeness of sampling. If our main hypothesis is valid with a small sample, truly representative, there is no reason to question its validity when other

sources of hostility are considered to increase the possibility of maladjustment. Our sample size is big enough, I believe, to avoid any unwitting bias in favor of the null hypothesis.

Heterogenous sample could have been used employing the concept of longitudinal studies of the individual and the couple (Hill, 1964). Our main objection at the present time against its use is the financial and organizational cost intrinsic to the method. Connected with the problem of sampling there is also the question of usefulness of results. Operationally, where or how do you go to apply the new knowledge obtained from our investigation?

If we keep in mind that any research despite its severe limitations or shortcomings represents at least (more so if it is integrated in a continuing, structured program of research) a portion of a series of individual projects whose results should indicate the direction for subsequent studies, then our study has a positive contribution toward an increasing refinement of hypotheses to be tested and knowledge to be gained.

But as we pointed out before, our expectations go beyond the limits of individual satisfaction. We aim at a theoretical framework for marriage counseling and we expect to have a solid basis for valid inferences despite the intrinsic limitations to our type of sampling. We warn anybody, however, against gratuitous

generalizations based on guesswork as we have mentioned before.

Instruments

Another type of difficulty has to do with the instruments we used. They are usually chosen in terms of their validity and usefulness. Most of the tools available (questionnaires, tests, checklists) have not been primarily designed for our kind of study. Consequently each one of them has to be taken on its own merits, keeping in mind that they are measuring, above all, personality characteristics.

Some degree of awkwardness and inaccuracy is implied here when trying to apply instruments which have been designed for use in another setting. But the transposition is easily and validly made if we realize that personality characteristics are operative in any dyadic relationship, and that marital adjustment or maladjustment are functions of the individual adjustment or maladjustment. Laing and Philipson have used the same principle in devising the IPM, but of course they have gone beyond that, for their main purpose was to measure the relationship as such.

The TAT we accept as a valid instrument, measuring the amount of personality adjustment or maladjustment and the amount of overt behavior at least. Its main limitation is whether or

not it measures only or primarily the covert behavior or fantasied activities of the individual (Lindsey, & Tejessy, 1965).

The MAI, although primarily devised for married couples, presents serious limitations in terms of validity and reliability because of the small populations on which it has been standardized. It has the positive advantage of attempting to correlate self and social perception with adjustment or maladjustment. We shall have a chance to say something about every one of the instruments. The point I am trying to make here is that hostility is a very complex entity. It may appear as the driving-force in different shapes and forms of human behavior. Unfortunately there do not exist at the present time any instruments sensitive enough to register all the nuances of it.

HOSTILITY

Exhaustive treatments on the topic of aggressive behavior have been published in the last decade, augmenting the interests of psychologists on the subject (Berkowitz, 1958, 1962, 1964; Buss, 1961; McNeil, 1959; Pepitone, 1964). Despite their efforts to find a common denominator in their theoretical characterizations, the topic still is a source of confusion and disagreement.

Hostility as a Theoretical Concept

The central concept in our study is the concept of hostility. "It is not clear," states H. Kaufmann, (1965) "whether what we mean by describing an individual as hostile is that he tends to respond aggressively toward individuals or groups possessing specific stimulus characteristics, to perceive a specific kind of response as socially desirable or even to express his aggressive feelings with greater freedom than a so-called low-hostile person".

Hostility has been defined in a large number of

questionnaires and scales simply as the total scores obtained by the respondents. This kind of definition has been criticized as impractical since it fails to differentiate between "potential aggression" and "actual hostile acts", and because in answering the items of a questionnaire the attribution of hostility to oneself is very much related to the general favorableness or unfavorableness of one's reported self image, and it is not necessarily related to actual degree of hostility involved. This certainly throws doubt on the validity of the definitions.

Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, & Sears, (1939) defined aggressive behavior as the primary and characteristic reaction to frustration, "an act whose goal response is injury to an organism." McNeil, (1959) continued to view aggression within this framework of F-A hypothesis, drawing freely upon psychoanalytic concepts and learning principles.

Buss & Kaufmann, feel that this type of definition has outlived its usefulness since both its dependent and independent variables are refractory to operational definitions. Grayson & Tolman, (1950) used aggression and hostility interchangeably, as a matter of expediency. It includes: "hostility feelings, destructive impulses, aggressive behavior and reactions to frustrations." Buss,

Durkee, & Baer, (1955, 1957) described aggression behaviorally as "the tendency to inflict injury" and hostility "the tendency to view the environment as inimical" and then attempted to clarify the concept of hostility by factorizing it into several components: "resentment, assault, verbal hostility, suspicion, over-all hostility and strength of hostility."

Buss's attempt to consider a behavioral definition to what in fact cannot be more than a hypothetical construct, an inferred intermediary with concrete, tangible properties of its own has been a point of criticism. Kaufmann, (1965) used the term aggression as to denote "behaviors which a) are transitive, that is, are directed against some object; b) have a subjective probability of reaching that object and either removing it from the attacker's goal path, or imparting a noxious stimulus to it, or both." Murstein, (1963) follows this paradigm when he describes aggressive behavior as "antagonism either directly or indirectly toward a person or object and involving either verbal or physical expression." This is the construct we accept as the basis for our study, involving three elements: a) antagonism, b) object of the antagonism and c) expression of it. H. Stone's TAT Aggressive Content Scale seems to imply these same elements.

At this point it seems to be important to underline the fact that the trait of hostility, and for that matter its construct, refers to an organized gestalt within a person, a whole that could be tapped equally well by various measuring instruments. A hostile person can make a hostile response to any sort of hostility-provoking stimulus (McGee, 1954).

Theories of Hostility

We shall consider now two main theoretical Modes which have attempted to explain aggressive behavior. The Need-Satisfaction-Frustration Model (Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer & Sears, 1939), and the Cognitive Consistency Model (Osgood, 1955, Festinger, 1957, Heider, 1958).

The hypothesis of the Need-Satisfaction-Frustration Model supposes a one-to-one relation between frustration and aggression. The basic postulate is that aggression is always a consequence of frustration. Frustration is defined as a "condition or event which prevents the occurrence of a goal-directed act." Frustration results in an instigation to aggression and if there is no inhibition to prevent it, the instigation results in overt aggressive behavior. Aggression is an act whose goal-response is injury to an organism (or organism surrogate). Frustration sets

off aggressive responses which in turn reduce aggressive impulses. This has been called the catharsis effect (Kaufmann, 1965).

One of the main criticisms against this model is its high degree of generality. More recent theorists have focused on special motivations to explain hostility and attraction. French (1956) concentrated on need for affiliation and need for achievement. He showed that the choice of partners for given test depends upon the relevance of the task to one or both of these motivations. In an experiment, Air Force trainees were requested to make friendship ratings of each other. To arouse achievement motivation, subjects were told that a test of concept formation would be taken. The choices of partners confirmed that high-achievement-oriented subjects tend to choose the successful (non-friend) partner with greater frequency than do the high-affiliation-oriented subjects, whereas the latter choose a friend more often.

In an attempt to move toward more specific research on the conditions of motivational arousal and satisfaction and away from circular conceptions, research has concentrated on three main areas. The first area, attraction is based on a need for dependency or security. Arsenian (1943) showed that children in a strange situation manifested fewer signs of insecurity in the

form of disorganized play, crying temper when the mother of surrogate was present than when they were alone. A second area, achievement motivation is focused on status implying prestige and power considered as powerful determinant of attraction and hostility. One can be attracted to others (groups or persons) in order to attain security or status or both. Attractiveness of others varies with their capacity to satisfy security or status motivations which have been aroused in the individual. Attraction decreases if there is any threat to security and status. A third area is based on research done by Pepitone & Kleiner (1957) and Kleiner (1960). They made an attempt to create different quantities of status motivation and to observe the effect upon change in interpersonal attraction. The results of these studies support the hypothesis that interpersonal attraction is proportional to the estimated capacity of individuals to maximize gains and minimize losses of state and security. The capacity depends on the extent to which the individuals are perceived as responsible for each other's losses or gains in status and security.

The main criticism against this explanation is the vagueness of its concepts. A number of writers have proposed some new formulations in terms of the specificity of conditions based on laboratory experiments. (Maslow, 1941; Rosenzweig, 1944;

Feshbach 1955; Pepitone 1955; and Horwitz 1953). Actual or threatened loss of status, socially based self-esteem and security have been said to be specific determinants of aggression. Their theoretical formulation is: "Hostile tendencies are aroused in the individual when he is threatened with or actually suffers a loss in status or security. Overt hostile actions or attitudes are then directed toward the source of the threat in order to remove it." (Pepitone, 1964).

When trying to evaluate this model - The Frustration -Aggression theory- we shall keep in mind again that it does not essentially differs from the Status-Security hypothesis but only in points of specificity. The F-A model in general in its elegant presentation offers tremendous possibilities for integration of social motives, and cognitive factors as determinants of hostility and attraction but at times it appears too general and vague despite the new efforts of the Status-Security sponsors, at times it seems also circular failing to provide a thorough understanding or to predict forms of attraction or hostility, or it results in confusion especially when they fail to describe the function of perceptions in that model. We need to know a little more about the kinds of needs and drives which are relevant to attraction and hos-

tility. To say that the husband behavior is generated because of the frustration in the goal attainment (F-A) or because the threat against his present (real or ideal) status quo, from actual losses in status and prestige is to say too much and at the same time say nothing at all. We need to know about the needs of this individual in that particular situation which are not satisfied and probably will not be satisfied. The perception of the individual in terms of an impossible bind has a lot to do with his total defensiveness.

Cognitive Consistency Models

These models essentially describe an equilibrium tendency, with emphasis on consistency and rationality as determinants of behavior. There are three cognitive approaches: the Balance Model of Heider (1958), the Dissonance Model of Festinger (1957) and the Cognitive Model of Osgood and Tannenbaum (1955).

The Cognitive Balance Model hypothesis is a theoretical step toward a conceptualization of Interpersonal Relations as explained by the "common sense" psychology of Interpersonal Relations, to deal with such questions as how a person perceives and acts toward other persons and himself, how he expects others to perceive and act toward him. The analysis of interpersonal relations

in terms of such "common sense" concepts appears to illiminate their casual dynamics.

Objects (self and others) in the individual's cognitive field tend to be organized into units following the principles of a good Gestalt. Cognitive unit formations are defined not only by properties of the objects themselves but by a structural relatedness or separateness, in other words, by the relation of these common properties to the surrounding field.

This cognitive organization has implications for attraction and hostility, for instance, social relationships as based on antipathy of the parties toward outsiders, coalitions as affected by the relationship of the persons toward persons on the outside. Cognized objects are also characterized by the positive or negative values attached by the cognizant to the objects corresponding to the subject's likes or dislikes.

We can summarize it in general by saying first that the cognitive field in which balance tendencies operate consists of unit formations based on "unit relations" and "liking relations" among the objects cognized therein. Secondly, the Balance Hypothesis states that there is a tendency for attitudes toward objects which are part of a unit formation to be uniform and for those objects toward which attitudes are uniform to become unit for-

mation. A balance state is one in which the unit formation and the attitudes toward the objects in the unit formation coexist harmoniously.. If a balance state does not exist for the person, he experiences a pressure to change either the unit formation by way of cognitive restructuring or the attitudes.

In a dyadic relationship the situation is balanced if the person likes an object with which he is in some way connected (similarity, association in the same group, family, country). The Balance Hypothesis predicts a tendency toward positive evaluation of the other person who is part of the unit formation. Familiarity, proximity and other determinants of cognitive units should lead to positive attitudes toward those who are part of such units. Whether the situation becomes balanced for the individual in question depends upon what forces exist in opposition to the tendency.

Deutsch & Solomon (1959) predicted that an individual will positively value others whose evaluation of him is similar to his own self-evaluation and negatively evaluate those whose evaluations of him are dissimilar to his own. If the individual evaluates some aspect of himself negatively, he should tend to like those who also regard this aspect negatively. On the other hand, he should dislike those who like that part of himself which he dislikes. But if

the individual evaluates himself positively, he should tend to like those whose evaluation of him is also positive and dislike those whose evaluation of him is negative. These predictions were tested in an experiment which tended to bear them out. The statistical interaction shows that social evaluations tend to be consistent with self-evaluations.

Heider (1958) cautions against the assumption of a sheer automatic cognitive process. "The balance tendency", he states, "is a manifestation of a more general organismic struggle toward perfection and harmony". The basis of balance lies in the structuring dynamics indigenous to the cognitive field.

The Dissonance Model of Festinger considers cognitive dissonance as a psychological tension having motivational characteristics. Two cognitions are consonant if they are mutually consistent, that is if one follows from, implies or is compatible with the other. The presence of dissonance gives rise to pressure to reduce that dissonance and the strength of this pressure is a direct function of the magnitude of the existing dissonance. Dissonance, like imbalance and incongruity, is negatively motivating. It is a condition which the individual tries to avoid or reduce.

The operational meanings of an obverse relation

between cognitions have been illustrated in terms of the type of experimental setup employed. One paradigm is the situation in which the subject chooses one of several alternatives which vary in attractiveness. The empirical rule in this kind of setup is that the more attractive the unchosen alternative the greater the dissonance. Another paradigm is when the individual acts in a manner opposite to the action that would be predicted from the commonly understood meaning of a belief which he holds. The empirical rule would then be, the smaller the reward received for the contrary behavior, the greater the dissonance. Another type of paradigm could be what has been called the "forced-compliance" paradigm. The more the contrary behavior issues from the individual's free choice or the less coercion is required to produce the contrary behavior, the greater the dissonance. Similarly, the more difficult or painful the behavior relative to the reward for which the behavior is required, the greater the dissonance. The amount of dissonance in these setups is inversely related to the amount of reward and punishment. In all these experimental contexts we find instances of logical inconsistency, violations of moral or cultural norms, differences of opinion, disconfirmations of expectations, self-defeating actions and many other kinds of disturbing conditions.

Aronson & Mills (1959) made an application of the dissonance model directly to interpersonal attraction. Their assumption was that dissonance would be produced if the individual recognized negative aspects in an object which he had striven hard and painfully to obtain. Accordingly dissonance would be expected to exist between any disliked aspects or group membership and any unpleasantness involved in becoming a member. They found that the individual will reduce dissonance in two ways, a) by denying or underestimating the unpleasantness of the situation, or b) by over-evaluating the group so as to justify the unpleasantness.

Dissonance experienced when the person is confronted with an opinion contrary to his own but held by people like himself has been studied by Back (1951) and Festinger (1950). The magnitude of the dissonance will depend upon the importance of the person or group disagreeing, the importance to the individual of the issues they disagree upon. Festinger and Aronson point to the ways the individual will handle his dissonance: he may attempt to convince himself that the content area in which the disagreement exists is not important, to derogate the other person or group, to eliminate the disagreement by changing his own opinion or attempting to change theirs, or he may seek additional support for the opinion he holds.

The important and still unanswered question in connection with these models is about the basis of the inconsistency effect. A first explanation tries to find an answer in the tradition of Gestalt Psychology: Balance forces are indigenous to the cognitive field. It is not necessary to assume external goals or states to which balance is instrumental. Another explanation is offered by Brehm & Cohen (1962) in a comprehensive study of the field. They think that dissonance originates in the preponderance of reinforcements which the individual has received from being consistent in his cognitive, affective and behavioral responses. Parents and other child trainers may in fact reward cognitive consistency directly, so that it could be a motivation in its own right from an early stage of development. Neither explanation seems to be completely satisfactory.

Two specific bases can be stated of the inconsistency effect. Inconsistency is negatively valued in most social environments. To avoid any losses the individual is inclined to inhibit inconsistent behavior or to minimize it after it has taken place. Secondly, inconsistency is a threat to the need of the individual to maintain a close relationship between his cognitive structure and reality.

The criticisms that have been made specifically

against the Dissonance Model fall into two main categories. First the experimental manipulations are usually so complex and the crucial variables so confounded that no valid conclusions can be drawn from the data. Secondly, a number of fundamental methodological inadequacies in the analysis of results vitiate the findings. As a consequence many authors claim that the evidence for the Cognitive dissonance theory is still inconclusive. Besides, its apparent simplicity may be misleading in many instances.

Measures of Hostility

One of the pioneering attempts to measure hostility was made by Adorno (1950). He presented detailed descriptions of the hostile individuals. Hostility is measured from the expression of it in external behavior. Cook & Leeds (1951) tried to measure hostility and virtue, for "the hostile individual frequently security

through virtue". He developed experimental scales for the MMPI. These scales were not effective in distinguishing between hostile and non-hostile teachers.

Both the Manifest Hostility Scale of Siegel (1952) and the Iowa Hostility Scale of Moldawsky (1953) were constructed by the procedure of a 'a priori' item selection of experienced judges. Siegel, (1952) using 50 items from the MMPI that four clinicians had agreed were hostility items, found that the validity of the scale consisted on that high scores on the California F scale corresponded with high scores on the MHS. Correlation though with the Elizur Hostility Scale on the Rorschach content approached zero. Schultz, (1954) created three hostility scales empirically finding the MMPI items that correlated with psychotherapists' ratings of patients. The three scales: a) Adequacy in expression of hostility; b) Frequency of expression of overt hostility; and c) Frequency of expression of covert hostility, have not been validated as yet. McGee, (1954) has tried to measure hostility by objective tests claiming significant correlations between various measures of hostility. She found low but significant correlations. However, there was in her opinion a need for further research on hostility and the degree of compartmentalization before we can hope to have highly valid, reliable instruments for measurements. Siegel, Spilka & Miller,

(1957) showed that reliable scales for extropunitive, intro-punitive and projected hostility could be drawn from the MHS although they had small correlations with the Rosezweig P-F scores. Swichard, & Spilka, (1961) found a difference in MHS scores between delinquents and majority groups, the minority group scoring higher. Similar studies were conducted by Feldman & Siegel, (1958). Shipman & Marquette, (1962) have attempted to improve the validity of the MHS constructing separate scales for two different groups of people, people who freely admit hostile feelings and people who do not, but who behave hostile without compunction. They found negligible correlations between the MHS and ratings of the hostility of 94 outpatients attending psychiatric clinic. The validity of each scale will be higher than that found for the MHS. Another study by Shipman, (1963) was on the validation of the MMPI hostility scale. The validity of six MMPI hostility scales was assessed by comparing their scores with carefully made rating of verbal hostility, physical hostility and hostile attitude. The subjects were 120 psychiatric outpatients on whom the ratings could be made with medium or high confidence. All the test rating correlations were statistically insignificant except for the one between hostile attitude and Moldawsky's scale.

TAT Hostility Scales

General studies trying to determine the relationship between TAT cards and hostility have been numerous (Sheldon 1951, Weatherly 1962, Murstein 1965). Murstein, David, Fisher & Furth, (1961) tried to determine whether the entire set of 31 TAT cards could be scaled for the dimension of hostility through the use of several widely used scaling methods. Their assumption was that the relationship of responses on the TAT to the stimulus qualities of the cards may have important behavioral correlates which are helpful in the assessment of personality. Research trying to measure this relationship in terms of hostility has been limited to the use of the Guttman technique of scaling.

What Murstein et al. (1961) have attempted to do was to construct a scale of hostility based on several other measuring devices such as the Thurstone Equal Appearing Interval Method (EAI); Successive Categories Method (SC); Likert Method; Edwards Scale Discrimination Technique and the Stouffer, Borgatta, Hays and Henry H-Technique, (Murstein and al. 1961). 100 undergraduate psychology students were administered slides of the TAT and asked to judge the slides in regard to hostility. By employing various criteria, adequate range coverage and differential ability between high and low hostility perceivers eight cards were finally selected. The coefficient of

reproductibility for these cards using the H-technique method contrived cards' was .96. It was concluded that all methods could be used in scaling hostility.

Murstein in his comprehensive review of the literature noted that there are clearly real relationships between TAT and overt hostility but the problem remains of ascertaining which TAT hostility indices based on which pictures will predict specific forms of hostility in particular context. (Murstein, 1963). More recently in a study with 96 college students Murstein (1965) considered the results to indicate that subjects 'projected' to the TAT cards an amount of hostility congruent to their self-concepts, implying a social desirability effect in TAT production. Previous studies (Reznizoff, Dollin, 1961 & Reynold, 1964) failed to detect social desirability in TAT responses. Ismer, (1962) found evidence that subjects who are determined to look healthy can modify their TAT stories in a healthy direction. Finally Tutko reported that subjects with a high need for approval produced less revealing TAT than did those with a low need for approval. The issue needs more clarification. 'If subjects can control the amount of hostility in their stories, the difficulty of predicting overt aggression from the TAT might prove to be considerably greater than indicated by Murstein' (Fischer 1963).

Here for practical purposes we are more interested with empirical studies on the development of hostile scales based on the TAT. Stone (1956) employed the Content Scales with its increasing weighting which had been previously introduced by Finey with the Rorschach. Stone introduced only two weightings using only 15 catds and made positive improvements developing a fairly reliable scale. Aggressive responses were weighted in a point system as 3, 2, 1 point respectively. Potential aggression was also included.

CHAPTER III

Variables and Instruments

This study was done at the Catholic Family Consultation Service in Chicago. The Agency offers its services to all catholics involved in marriage difficulties. Historically the Catholic Family Consultation Service has gone through two different stages. In its last stage which includes the last five years of its existence, a wealth of research material has been accumulated. This material is well organized. Each couple's work-up has been kept in separate folders containing social intakes, referrals, psychological evaluation and counselor's suggestions and final dispositions of the case.

Variables

The Independent Variable

The first main difficulty in designing this study was the significant number of variables. High-expressed hostility and low-expressed hostility in marital pairs is the independent variable. This variable is thought to be the expression of the individual's destructive-negative behavior against themselves or the environment. This is obtained using the Iowa Hostility Scale for initial selection of the couples and 15 TAT cards for further correlation analysis.

An initial assumption is that the individual's basic resources in general and his coping mechanisms in particular are not essentially different before marriage than they are within marriage, for the same individual. In other words, the individual's ability to direct his instinctive hostile energy into creative and constructive outlet is the same when dealing with himself or when dealing with his environment (others) before or after marriage. The individual becomes vulnerable within himself and his marriage when

his resources to deal with intrapsychic conflicts and environmental pressures are blocked or his coping mechanisms become ineffectual, they do not accomplish what they are set out to do.

We do not want to assume that people in normal well adjusted marriages do not experience any hostile feelings, but we do say that in any contingency they are better equipped to deal with these feelings in a constructive manner.

Our purpose is to study the hostility that derives from the relationship itself. So we assume:

1. Two or more persons. Children are included sometimes. We prefer not to include them in our study for reasons of clarity.
2. Involved in a repeated experience of relationship. A marital relationship is something beyond the sum of the personalities that make it up. The relationship tends to influence and change each partner and this in turn influences the relationship.
3. For unspecified reasons there are pressures either coming from the relationship itself or not but that affect the relationship, and that because the individual's own inability to deal with pressures generate hostility against the other mate. This hostility includes a) antagonism, a tendency to view the environment as inimical (hostile feeling, destructive impulses, reactions to frustrations) b) an object of the antagonism either himself or the environment and

c) it is expressed either physically or verbally, at times it may be inhibited.

The Dependent Variable

The dependent variable for our study is adjustment. Adjustment is understood comprehensively. It refers to the individual as an individual but also to the individual as an essential part of the dyad. The important assumption here is that the well adjusted individuals have better chances to become well adjusted partners in their marriage if we accept the relationship between emotional maturity and marital adjustment, (Dean, 1966).

However, the possibility of losing perspective is a matter of concern. The individual comes from a world of relationship, (his own family) into another world of relationship (his own marriage and family). We acknowledge the fact that either partner involved in a relationship is now more than an integral part. 'It is an entity new and different, but its properties although unique preserve a specific dynamic relation to the elements that have joined it in its creation' (Ackerman, 1958).

In marital maladjustive situations we can characterize two salient elements, 1) failure of reciprocity of satisfactions and 2) conflict. The intervening processes are various and interwoven:

disturbances of empathic understanding, defective communication, failure of complementarity in which one partner no longer derives from the other satisfaction of needs, support, person identity and buttressing of necessary defenses against anxiety.

Finally we think of hostility and adjustment as part of two different parallel continua. High-low hostility scores are the extremes of a continuum, inversely correlated to High-low Adjustment scores the other continuum. We want to make exceptions for the cases which we come across where this relationship is altered. In some instances hostility destroys the relationship, in others it may save it. The dynamics involved in these exceptional cases are more complicated. We believe that in these cases there are other elements such as other sets of personal values counterbalancing the destructive aspects of their interaction. As Ackerman has pointed out, talking about some neurotic marriage "The saving grace is that in certain neurotic marital partnerships the effect of each partner exerts upon the other is a favorable one and neutralizes the injurious results of their neuroses" (Green, 1965). Within this matrix the character of each partner improves and hostility subsides. If not then, eventually the maladjustment will reappear in different fashions and shapes.

Control of Extraneous Variables

It is necessary to establish definitive criteria to avoid contamination of variables and to determine the true correlation between hostility and marriage itself.

Some of the primary sources of extraneous variance are psychological in nature. The coping mechanisms of the individual, his fantasy life and constructive imaginative resources, his approach to authority. For this reason we have tried to exclude any mental patient who has been chronically disturbed or has been under psychiatric treatment for more than a couple of years. The assumption is that hostility, even if not overtly manifested but covertly symbolized, has affected the psychological apparatus of a person or survival to deal effectively with his environment. In our study we have chosen to deal with couples that as individuals at the time of their marriages were not under psychiatric treatment.

Close to this we place age. Older people seem to experience specific pressures stemming from the fact that they are getting old. Their friends are dying or have already died; loneliness, changes in societal and cultural values, mental and emotional compensations - all this may affect an individual independently of marriage. Because we are not sure of all the implications we decided to establish

limits in the age of our groups.

All our couples were white, American born and Catholic. This was not done on an arbitrary basis altogether. There were three main reasons why we felt justified in keeping these criteria. First, for practical reasons. The CFCS carries very few cases of non-white, non-Catholic, non-American couples. The Agency is in no way discriminatory in its policies but it happens that the greatest bulk of couples comes from a white, Catholic, American born population. Secondly, for methodological reasons, color, religion and nationality are considered extraneous variables able to contaminate the results of our study. These are environmental factors generating pressures in some cases, which can affect the total productivity and effectiveness of the individual. This may have or may have nothing to do with marriage itself. The considerations of these factors will result in spurious results. And this is our third reason - dynamic pressures produce frustrations. A frustrated individual responds differently to stimuli. In terms of marital interaction this would mean that the individual initially handicapped within a pressure-generating environment may react aggressively against the other marital partner without his hostility being previously created by the partner. This individual will certainly be at disadvantage to operate effectively..

His problems with his wife, let us say could be explained in terms of the pressures he is experiencing outside marriage, not necessarily in terms of the relationship. Color(Race) refers to all the complex of social prejudices, rejection, and apprehensions created around this type of stimuli. Religion refers especially to mixed marriages in which institutional pressures from the part of Church laws and practices make the individuals feel guilty and resent each other, an extremely unadvisable basis for the development and growth of their relations. In the non-American group we include here all the foreigners and couples in which at least one has been born out of this country. We do not intend to evaluate cultural pressures which a given individual, say husband or wife, may experience in the process of acculturation.

Finally there are factors which could not be put into any of the general categories we had but which could not, either, be overlooked. I am referring to practical situations related to the set of values of the individuals such as not being validly married. We have observed that in such circumstances there is a certain amount of resentment and sheer hostility expressed against one another because of the bind in which they find themselves.

On the basis of these facts we established the following criteria:

1. We excluded all couples in which one or both partners had suffered before marriage from any kind of diagnosed mental illness. This criterion would eliminate mentally defectives, organics or any other cases of severe pathology diagnosed so by a psychologist or psychiatrist.

2. Couples in which one or both partners were foreign-born or had been raised within any other marked subcultural minority group. For practical reasons all our couples were selected among third generation American born. All of them were residents of Chicago.

3. Our agency, being Catholic in nature, obviously carries a great number of cases of Catholic couples. We decided to stick to this criterion for practical purposes. All the couples in our study were Catholics.

4. In regard to education, we selected couples with at least four years of high school or the equivalent.

5. The level of income was arbitrarily decided at \$6000.00 per couple as a minimum.

6. We required the couple to have been married less than 15 years.

7. Finally the age criterion for the man was 40

or less, for the wife 35 or less trying to avoid couples with involuntional problems affecting their marital adjustment whether they knew or not (Luckey, 1966).

Instruments

Four instruments were used for our study. We shall describe them in detail in this section. The first was the Iowa Hostility Inventory serving the purpose of screening and selecting our experimental and control groups. Then we employed 15 TAT cards following the TAT Aggressive Content Scale of Stone. Finally we used the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS) and the Marriage Adjustment Inventory to measure and correlate perceptions and need-systems of husband and wife.

Iowa Hostility Scale

We tried to select Scales which were considered to measure hostility and had been validated against known hostile groups. Three Scales were selected: the Iowa Hostility Inventory, of Moldawsky (1954) the Manifest Hostility Scale of Siegels (1956) and the Hostility Scale of Schultz (1954).

For our study we selected the Iowa Hostility Inventory for several reasons. First it was particularly desired to

measure the presence of an affective state - hostility - in psychotherapeutic population. The Hostility Scales of Siegel and Schultz seem to have been constructed and validated against groups which contain more pathology than our average couple. The Iowa Hostility Scale was more in agreement with our criterion of non-severe pathology and chronicity. Second, since we had excluded any couples suffering from severe or chronic pathology we were more concerned with the type of Scale which would reflect practical daily life situations for these were the factors which could indicate a normal marital adjustment or not. Some of the items of other scales appeared to be too inhibiting of free expression because of their loading with psychopathological content. Another reason was the social orientation of its items. The Iowa Hostility Inventory (Scale) emphasizes above all the reactions of the individual to other people. The interactional overtones of its content were in perfect agreement with the type of scales we needed when dealing with married couples. We wanted an instrument not as difficult to handle as the Interpersonal Perception Method of Laing & Phillipson, (1966) but not as deprived of the social interactional flavor when measuring the affective state of hostility.

The Iowa Hostility Inventory (Scale) forms part of a Battery of nine clinical scales called the General Medical Battery

constructed by Moldwasky (1953) by the procedure of 'a priori' item selection by experienced judges. The General Battery consisted of 343 true-false items and 53 multiple choice items. A formulation of the concept of hostility was handed to the judges: Recurrent or chronic conflict or frustration with which the individual has not been able to deal with satisfactorily leaves a residue of pent-up aggressive feeling, which is designated as 'Hostility'. "Chronic Hostility in this sense, may reflect itself behaviorally in the following ways: slight impositions are reacted to as if they were extremely exasperating. In general, the behavior of other people tends to be devalued in respect to motives and social good-will. Reactions suggestive of a general feeling of irritation occur. Sudden or inexplicable dislike reactions to 'loved ones' occur. Attitudes of being imposed upon, humiliated or cheated are present. Behavioral expressions of anger, resentment, annoyance and jealousy are relatively frequent." (Moldawshy, 1953).

This formulation with 65 items judged by Moldwasky to reflect the presence of hostility and 35 'fillers' items i.e. those judged (comparatively) unrelated to hostility, were submitted to five psychologist with instructions to classify the one hundred statements as 1) reflecting hostility, 2) unrelated or 3) doubtfully related to hostility. The 16 items agreed upon by all five judges as

reflecting hostility and the 29 items with four agreements on ratings and one doubtful rating comprise the final scale consisting of 45 items. This approach to personality test construction was modeled after that of Taylor's who constructed the Scale of Manifest Anxiety.

There have not been too many studies on the validity and reliability of the Iowa Hostility Scale, taken either as a part of the General Medical Battery or independent from it. Moldawsky in his study with patients from the Dermatology Department of Iowa University Hospitals on the role of psychological factors in skin disorders provide some data on the consistency of the instrument but failed to give any normative data for the scale. The study showed certain patterns of relationship between the Hostility Scale and other scales especially the Anxiety Scale but these results are not too convincing in terms of validity and reliability. Dinwiddie (1954) reported correlations of .59 between the Iowa Hostility Scale and therapists' ratings of their patients' hostility, while the client self-ratings ranged between .67 and .54.

Buss, Durkee & Baer, (1955) used the IHS with 30 men and 30 women in a neuropsychiatric hospital. Mental defective organic patients with brain damage and severely disorganized patients were excluded. Each patient was interviewed in a room with three

psychologists-judges. Each patient was interviewed by the same psychologist, the other two psychologists were free to ask any questions at the end of the interview. The interview lasted fifteen minutes. It followed a uniform pattern: the subject was initially encouraged to discuss any problems of adjustment at home and at work. Then few selected areas were discussed: resentment, frustration, distrust and other behavioral aspects of hostility. Specific situations were presented to the testee at the end of the interview. The IHS was administered by a staff member right after the behavioral interview.

The ratings were done right after the interview by the judges independently and without consultation. It followed seven categories of aggressive behavior: resentment, verbal hostility, indirect hostility, assault, suspicion, overall evaluation of hostility and strength of hostile urges. The mean intercorrelations show that the various aspects of hostility were assessed with a moderate to a high degree of reliability. The categories were reliably assessed which suggests that the definitions of the categories were adequate. Interjudge correlations were computed for men and women. The ratings for both were quite reliable.

TABLE 1

Correlations Between Ratings of Various Aspects
of Hostility and the IHS

Category	IHS	
	men	women
Resentment	.30	.51
Verbal Hostility	.26	.46
Indirect Hostility	.24	.29
Assaultiveness	.36	.41
Suspicion	.24	.56
Over-all	.39	.54
Strength of Hostile Urges	.37	.32

In general the women's correlations are higher than the men's. Only two out of seven correlations are significant, while five out of seven for the women are significant. The correlations between over-all hostility and the Iowa Hostility Scale are significant for men and women, suggesting that hostility as measured by both instruments (interview and inventory) is related. However it seems that the inventory cannot be a substitute for the clinical appraisal of hostility with its overtones. This is what we should have expected since the IHS does not intend to measure these clinical aspects of hostility but it is more concerned with hostile behavior as manifested by more normal people.

There are two main criticisms against the Iowa

Hostility Scale. First is the procedure 'a priori' by which it was constructed. This type of 'a priori' scale depends much on the general favorableness or unfavorableness of one's reported self-image and it is not necessarily related to the actual degree of hostility involved. (Shipman, 1966). Further research is needed in the area of social desirability to determine real criteria of hostile behavior. Second its limited evidence as a valid instrument. More studies are needed too.

TAT Cards

"The Thematic Apperception Test is a method of revealing some of the dominant drives, emotions, sentiments, complexes and conflicts of personality". Its utility and rational has been explained by Murray himself (1943).

In our study we selected the following cards 1, 2, 3BM, 3GF, 4, 6, 8M, 8BM, 9GF, 11, 12M, 13MF, 14, 15, 18Gf, 18BM for the following reasons: First because these are the cards most often used in routine testing and secondly for their aggressive pull (Murstein, David, & al. 1961, Shipman, 1965) except for cards 1,2,14. They were included to provide some discrimination between hostile and non-hostile group. (Stone, 1953). Each card was chosen

to measure a) amount of hostility, total point-score on aggressive content, b) type of hostility, whether physical or verbal and c) expression and handling of hostility, whether destructive or constructive.

The scoring system and the basic weighting scales followed the same method described by Stone, (1953), in his study of Aggressive Content of the TAT. Originally the Scale consisted of objective scoring criteria for classifying aggressive and non-aggressive responses of the TAT cards. Two weightings were finally selected: 1) each aggressive response was categorized as involving a Death content, 2) Physical Aggression content, or a Verbal Aggression content. Each response was weighted in a point system as 3, 2, 1 points respectively. The assumption was that "death concepts would be indicative of greater aggression and poorer control and hence would be more related to overt aggressive behavior than the physical or verbal categories. 2) the response was also scored in terms of whether it showed active or potential aggression. In the latter case only half the point is given.

Each response is considered individually and placed in one of four categories:

Category 0: Non-Aggressive Responses. Themes which are considered

to be non-aggressive. Non-scorable responses.

Category 1: Verbal Aggression. Themes which showed a hostility content but of verbal character. Quarreling, arguing, differences of opinion, yelling etc. Score 1 point.

Category 2: Physical Aggression. Responses involving assault, illness, bodily malformation, destruction to inanimate objects. Punishment and fighting in general are also included. Score 2 points.

Category 3: Death Concepts. Responses in which death is involved. Ill, murder, suicide, standing by the grave, mourning, losing somebody. Score 3 points. Each response is first classified in a given category and given a point accordingly.

The reliability and validity of the Scale was determined using three groups of Army Prisoners. 1) those who had committed a nonviolent crime, 2) those who had deserted from the army, and 3) those who had murdered or intended to kill somebody. The reliability was determined after 120 TAT stories had been randomly selected from the total number of subjects' responses and independently scored by three judges. the 120 TAT stories were divided equally among the fifteen cards utilized in the study: the eight responses from each card were randomly selected. Percentage agreement was then obtained:

Judge 2-1: 94.16%

Judges 3-1: 90.00%

Judges 2-3: 89.16%

The analysis of the scoring errors indicated that one of the judges had made a consistent mistake and this was responsible for the failures of agreement in some cases. Furthermore, it was the author's impression that scoring reliability would have increased had new scoring directions been introduced.

It is unfortunate that only percentages of agreement are presented as the only indication of reliability. Nothing else is said and we are left with a feeling of apprehension. Furthermore we are puzzled by the fact that only interscorers' reliability coefficients are given. It seems to me an imperfect way of expressing the consistency of what the instrument is meant to measure. After all, the judges in their scoring are somehow following objective criteria previously selected by the author of the Scale. This means that the three judges agree on the content as organized and selected by the author.

The validity of the Scale, whether the Scale measures what it purports to measure was obtained by comparing the three groups in the study. The general results show that the assaultive group projected significantly more hostility, then the

combined nonassaultive groups. The Mean Aggressive content were 15.59; 11.76; 13.48 for groups 3, 2, 1 respectively. Several predictions were then made,

1. Group 3 would show greater aggressive content than group 2.

This hypothesis was confirmed. The T ratio was 3.06 with a $p=.01$

2. Group 3 would show greater aggressive content than group 1.

The hypothesis was questionable with a T ratio of 1.88 $p=.06$

3. Group 2 would show higher aggressive content than group 1.

The hypothesis was not confirmed. The trend was reversed with a T ratio of 1.37 $p=.10$

4.. Group 3 (assaultive group) would show greater aggressive content than the combined non-assaultive groups (1 and 2). The hypothesis was confirmed by a T ratio of 2.98 $p=.01$

The final conclusion was that the Aggressive Content Scale does discriminate significantly between the three groups but more significantly between the non-assaultive and assaultive groups. The author of the study warns us against too much optimism. The study he states "does not constitute a total validation of the Scale, but seems to indicate that further research involving its use might be worthwhile" (Stone, 1953).

The point easily overlooked is whether the Scale measures what it is intended to measure. It would have been beneficial had they validated the Scale against other known instruments measuring the same variable. The difficulty at that time it seems would have been to find valid instruments for that purpose. But more imaginative methods of analysis of content seems to be in order when discussing the validity of this type of Scale. Maybe the author would have had a better impact if they had analyzed the content itself and correlated the findings in each card for each group and then correlated this with some other known measures of Hostility. The instrument however, as it stands seems to be sufficiently reliable and valid to justify their use in our study. Incidentally, in view of our previous criticisms, we have tried to correlate the TAT Aggressive Content Scale with the Iowa Hostility Scale in order to remedy some of the limitations.

The Edwards Personal Preference Schedule

The EPPS has been widely used and studied. A complete description of the EPPS is found in the manual published in 1959. The test was designed to elicit scores on a number of relatively independent personality variables. The statements in the EPPS and the variables that these statements purport to measure have their origin in a list of manifest needs presented by H. A.

Murray and others (Murray, 1938, 1962). The test provides measures of 15 personality variables, of test consistency and of profile stability.

Normative data were collected on 1509 college students and 8963 adults in the general population. Scores on each of the fifteen variables range from 0 to 28 and are fairly symmetrically distributed around their respective means. The variables are relatively independent of each other with the means of their intercorrelations being .07. Only twelve of the 105 correlations are plus or minus .30 or higher (Edwards, 1959).

The inventory consists of 225 pairs of statements from which the respondent is asked to choose the statement in each pair which he believes to be most characteristic of himself. By correlating the partial scores in each row and column on the answer sheet over the fifteen personality variables for a single subject, a measure of profile stability is obtained. The average profile correlation obtained from a random sample of 279 cases drawn from the college normative group of 1509 records, based upon the z transformation, was .74 (Edwards, 1959).

Coefficients of internal consistency were determined on the sample of 1509 for the fifteen personality variables. The coefficients correlated by the Spearman-Brown formula range from

.60 to .87. Further data of reliability are available and are derived from coefficients of stability. The coefficients ranged from .78 to .88 (Edwards, 1959).

Validity data include matching scores with self-ratings and correlating Q sorts with scores on the EPPS. There has also been some investigation of the relationships between the variables of the inventory and other variables which should theoretically be related in specific ways. The latter procedure was carried out using the Guilford-Martin Personnel Inventory and the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale. The correlations were, in general, in the expected directions. J. Mann (1958) in his study correlating Self-Ratings with the EPPS concluded that "the EPPS has satisfactory test-retest reliability" and also "correlates with self-rating on the variables which it purports to measure". Two final studies, one by Gisvold, (1958) and the other by Phares & Adams, (1961), appear supportive of the construct validity of the EPPS.

In our study only six variables, namely exhibitionism, abasement and nurturance, succorance, dominance, aggression were used. It seems reasonable to limit ourselves to these in face of the impossibility of dealing with all fifteen variables. In our opinion these six play an important part in marital interaction. The total profile was retained, however - we did not

use an abbreviated form - for removing items from the context of a standardized test would have altered the nature of items and responses to them (Buros, 1965).

The Marriage Adjustment Inventory (MAI)

The MAI consists of a list of 157 questions - problems divided into twelve clusters. The Manual describes the construction of the Inventory and contains information in regard to normative data and percentile values of raw scores. Very little is said about the validity or reliability of the test.

Its construction began with the selection of 600 items from several sources including clinical experience, psychological tests and questionnaires, books, interviews with marriage counselors and professional workers in the field. Two hundred and twenty-five items were selected and adapted for use in preliminary questionnaire survey. Of these only 157 were kept in the final form of the MAI.

Each item or "question-problem" is phrased negatively to point up some attitude, feeling or behavioral attribute that would presumably make for marital unhappiness or maladjustment. Following each item are the letters H-W. By circling H or W or H-W, the individual indicates if the husband or wife, or both, possess this negative characteristic. The sum of the circles

applying to self is the Self-evaluation (SE) score. The sum of circles applying to the mate is the Spouse evaluation (SE). The sum of H-W circles is the Husband-wife evaluation score. The total evaluation (TE) score is the sum of all circled responses. In addition to these four major scores, 48 "cluster" scores may also be determined for each person completing the form (Manson & Lerner, 1962).

The normative group was composed of 237 men and women distributed in the following fashion: 120 men (101 married, 14 divorced, 5 separated and 117 women (95 married, 20 divorced and 2 separated.) The Mean-Age for men was 37.6 years, and for women 35.8 years. Mean-Education was for men 13.1, for women 12.8 years. The subjects were classified into "happily adjusted", "average adjusted," and "unhappily adjusted" groups. On this basis, 67% of the men and 59% of the women were considered "happily adjusted" with respective proportions of 20 and 21 percent considered unhappily adjusted." Only 13 percent of men and 20 percent of women were found to be "average" in adjustment.

Twelve clusters or areas of marriage problems are described in the Manual. Items in each cluster of items describe problems which often affect a marriage. Mean clusters are also de-

scribed. Mean scores show a trend for the "happily adjusted" group to have the lowest scores, the "average adjusted" group to have the next lowest scores and the "unhappily adjusted" to have the highest scores. Higher scores indicate more problems and greater maladjustment in marriage (Manson & Lerner, 1962). Though no item in any cluster is repeated in another, several items seem to be closely related. No explanation of how the separate clusters were segregated nor the criteria for inclusion of specific items within a cluster is presented in the manual. The sum of circled answers under each cluster heading is a rough index of the contribution of the cluster to each of the four evaluation scores.

Percentile equivalents of the four evaluative scores by sex and each of the three adjustment levels are given in the manual. Critical scores by sex are suggested on a comparative basis: for example, the critical score on self-evaluation is set at 20 since 90 percent of the happily adjusted in both sexes made raw scores of 20 or less in contrast to 30 percent of the unhappily adjusted men and women.

There have been some questions raised concerning the validity and reliability of the MAI. Validity information is given only in terms of inherent validity, depending solely upon

self-ratings of happiness on a five point scale ranging from happy to very unhappy. It is questionable whether this criterion has much meaning. All it seems to show is that individuals who rate themselves as happily married also rate themselves as having few marital problems. The lack of evidence of cross-validation must be regarded as a serious shortcoming. Finally the authors of the MAI state that they had designed the test with twelve purposes in mind, none of which seems to be completely fulfilled. Information on reliability is equally scarce and literature and research on research on the MAI is practically nonexistent.

However, despite all these limitations, we have chosen the MAI on an experimental basis and this for two reasons. First, because the paucity of valid instruments in the field of Marriage Counseling makes us face our limitations and find new ways to appraise marriage difficulties and its relation to adjustment. We hope to be able to obtain some information from correlating the MAI with other projective instruments, especially the TAT. Secondly, there is something positive about the MAI. Too many available tests have tried to measure the individual in a vacuum, ignoring what the "experimental subject" feels or thinks in a specific situation. The idea is to obtain "pure," "uncontaminated responses"

which in turn can be standardized and become part of the total approach to study populations. This is a distortion. The MAI offers new suggestions as to how to approach the individual in his daily life situations.

CHAPTER IV

Procedure and Discription of the Groups

The selection of subjects for our sample is described in this chapter. There follows a discussion of the administration of instruments used in data collection and of the sample basic characteristics.

The selection of the Sample

The selection of our sample was done in four successive stages. The first stage was a preliminary selection done at the Catholic Family Consultation Service. The author of this study went through the Agency's files and selected as many cases as he could from a population of more than 2000 cases collected at the Agency in the last five years or so. All the cases had been interviewed, staffed and with some kind of disposition attached to them. Some of the selected cases had already been terminated

and had been closed, some others were still in process. A total of 200 potential cases were finally selected.

The second stage consisted in furthering screening of cases, applying the criteria of selection we had previously established, to avoid extraneous variables. Besides the general criteria already discussed, we were careful in rejecting any cases which had been already terminated especially if their status quo was one of divorce and remarriage. We avoided dealing with only one party. We also rejected a good number of cases in which only one partner was willing to cooperate but the other refused to do so. Our assumption in these cases was to avoid being used as instruments of one partner against the other. In some cases we found that what they thought of the study was to have some kind of official evaluation to justify their present situation; we foresaw the implications of this type of manipulation. Only those cases in which both partners were willing to cooperate with us were selected. Our sample included all the gamut of marriage situations: divorced, separated or presently married and living together but with all kinds of marriage difficulties.

In the third stage we discussed each couple with their respective counselor. We wanted to assure ourselves of the correct application of our criteria especially in regard to

psychiatric care of the mates and to ways of approaching the couples to invite them to participate in our study. This procedure was successful. The couples, always afraid of psychological evaluations and new interviews with strangers, were more than willing to participate if asked to do so by their counselors. Interesting enough, in a few cases we found this not to be true. The couples expressed rather hostile feelings against the Agency. This we inferred was an index of their frustration in dealing with us, possibly indicating the highly manipulative character of some of their partners. When they did not obtain what they wanted, their tendency was to blame the Agency in general, a perfect scapegoat for their failure.

We had in our hands 200 couples ready to be contacted. Our prediction was that when contacting these people we would lose at least 50% of them for different reasons. Our next step was to contact them by mail and explain to them the purpose of our study, cooperation in the study. A stamped envelope and a blank form were enclosed in order to make an answer more possible. Out of 200 mailed letters we received only 63 responses (31%). This was discouragingly below our expectations. Among the reasons given by the refusers we find anything, from change of residence, "don't bother", "too busy", "those who takes

care of children", and so on.

The blank form was attached in order to check on some of the couple's personal information: present marital status (married, divorced, separated) degree of marital satisfaction (happy, average, unhappy) plus educational and psychiatric backgrounds and other practical items like income, number of children, etc.

At this point we thought of a good way of completing our sample. We got in touch with all the new applicants-married couples - coming to the agency for help. We were able to complete our figure of 1100 couples. This proved to be a good procedure because it helped us to correlate the amount of hostility of the new couples with the amount of hostility of the old couples who had been with the agency for some time. The correlation proved to be interesting. First, there was not significant difference in the amount of hostility between the new and old couples which had been with the agency for less than two years. But as time passed and the solution of their problems was delayed either because of personality or red-tape difficulties, hostility tended to increase.

THE THREE HOSTILITY GROUPS

A total pre-sample of 100 couples willing and ready to participate in our study was then administered the Iowa Hostility Scale. The Scales were then scored and two experimental sampling groups of 20 couples each were formed. Raw scores were the basis of final selection.

Group A: Consisted of 20 couples which were very highly in Hostility raw scores. The highest raw score was 155 per couple (husband and wife), the lowest 91. The range was 64.

Group B: Consisted of 20 couples low in Hostility scores. The highest raw score for this group was 81, the lowest 61. The range was 20.

The selection of only 20 couples was in relation to two basic factors: 1) We tried to establish manageable figures without destroying the representativeness of the sample. We felt that 40 people per group was as far as size and representativeness a good sample; 2) We tried also to be economical. Our means

and facilities of work did not allow us more flexibility or better choices.

Group C: A different procedure was followed to obtain a control group. A letter was mailed to 100 priest-conselors of the Archdiocese of Chicago, asking each of them to send us back 10 couples they considered and thought of as happily married and well adjusted, with no outstanding conflicts in their relationship. Only ten priests (10%) answered our letter, a low percentage. A list of 100 couples was prepared. Many of these couples did not qualify partly because violations of the criteria of age, time of marriage or because of the time at which they could be available. We then approached the CFM (Christian Family Movement) and asked for more volunteer couples. We were able to complete our potential sample of 100 couples.

Then we proceeded in the same fashion. We wrote them a letter with more specific information on our study enclosing the same blank form that they had been used with the experimental groups. Then they were invited to come for an appointment and the Iowa Hostility Scale was administered. The 20 couples showing the lowest degree of hostility and the highest degree of adjustment and happiness were selected for the control group. The highest hostility score for this group was 59, the lowest 13. The range was 46.

We followed the same procedure to test both experimental and control groups. An appointment was made for the couple to come to our agency. Testing was for most couples done in the evening hours. The couple was interviewed together by the author of this study and instructed together as to the nature and practical aspects of the tests. No information was given to them about the nature of the study. This was briefly done at the end of the testing.

Then the husband and wife were escorted to separate rooms where cross consultation was practically impossible and the two questionnaires, the MAI and the EPPS, were handed to them. No time limit was specified but the couples were told that the average time per person was one hour and thirty minutes but that they were welcome to take their time. There was no other personal contact with the individuals or the couples until the administration of the TAT.

This first half of the testing went on without any incident of particular significance for most of the couples. The only empirical observation made at that time was that unhappily married couples experienced more perplexity about their task than the happily married. They asked more questions, expressed more doubts and made more remarks about the possible findings of who

or what was wrong with their marriage.

When the questionnaires were finished the TAT was administered. There was a selection of 15 TAT cards in numerical order. An instruction sheet was placed on the top of the cards and a Norelco recording machine set at one side. Instructions were provided as to the nature of the Test and how to handle the microphone. The tester remained in the room for a while, until the first TAT card story was completed. No time was scored. The tapes were properly identified.

The administration of the TAT brought to our attention a few interesting facts. First, happily married individuals encountered less difficulties in handling the situation-a decision-making situation-than the unhappily married individuals. unhappily married individuals ran into all kinds of difficulties ranging from interpretation of instructions to the technical aspects in handling the microphones. The presence of the tester was requested more often by the unhappily married individuals. Second, more cards were skipped by unhappily married than by happily married individuals. Finally, the time required to finish the tests was far greater for unhappily married individuals (two hours and fifteen minutes) than for happily married ones (one hour and forty-seven minutes).

Scoring was done according to the Manual Instruc-

tions. With the TAT we employed the Stone Scoring System. The scoring was done by two qualified psychology graduate students, and correlations between the groups were obtained, indicating pretty much the same agreement found in Stone's original paper (Stone 1953).

Similarities and Differences

In this section, we shall explore the general characteristics of the sample and study the relationship between our selected groups. Our main purpose is to get some understanding into the couple's natural habitat. Married couples do not live or function in a social or cultural vacuum. They live within an "existential culture" and this, of course, tells us that marital adjustment is not a uniformly unidimensional static phenomenon but a complex dynamic reality which follows some of the patterns of individual adjustment.

Our comparison of groups will be done in a two fold manner. First, in general we shall compare the general characteristics of the three of them in terms of age, education, income,

occupation and length of marriage for the individuals (husbands and wives) and the couples as units. Second, we shall try to be more specific and compare the same groups in terms of type of education, occupation, and family organization. Actually these comparisons are summarized in two subsidiary hypotheses:

- 1.A- Hostile and non-hostile (A-B-C) groups do not significantly differ in terms of age, education, income and length of marriage.
- 1.B- The non-hostile group (C) appears to be better organized in terms of occupation, size of family, income and family organization in general.

Our contention is that functioning within the same kind of environment the non-hostile couples show more resourcefulness to integrate its elements in a constructive manner. The higher we get in the Hostility Scale the poorer resources the couples show to deal effectively with the environment. We do not want to state a casual relationship, we just want to point to the differences and similarities.

Let us now turn to other characteristics of our sample. When the couples were first seen at the CFCS they were given a Personal Data blank to fill in, The blank prepared for that effect contained items dealing with different areas of information such as Marital Status and Satisfaction, Education, Income, Occupation, Length of Marriage and Number of Children. These characteris-

tics were considered important for the description of our sample.

Marital Status and Satisfaction

The first two characteristics we want to comment on are marital status and satisfaction. Table 2 presents the distribution of the couples according to the present marital status:

TABLE 2

Distribution of Couples According to their
Present Marital Status

Status	A		B		C	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Married	15	75	17	85	20	100
Separated	4	20	3	15	-	-
Divorced	1	5	-	-	-	-
Total	20	100	20	100	20	100

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Divorced	1	5	-	-	-	-
Total	20	100	20	100	20	100

From the figures in Table 2, it appears that there is some tendency for the non-aggressive groups (Group C) to keep their marriage intact. Different types of breakdowns in the marital relation are manifested more often by more hostile groups (A and B) respectively. However, when these figures are translated into percentages and more sophisticated statistical methods of analysis applied, we find that these differences between groups A,B,C, in regard to marital status are not really significant as indicated in Table 2. The CR of the differences of percentages of married couples for the three groups not significant at the .01 level of significance. The values for the differences of percentages between group A and B, was .73, between B and C was 1.80 and between A and C was 2.40. None of these values were significant at the .01 level of significance.

Marital Satisfaction was distributed equally between husbands and wives within each group except for two cases in groups B and C in which there was an apparent disagreement between husband and wife in evaluating their marriage.

TABLE 3

Marital Satisfaction Distribution as Expressed
by Couples in the Three Groups

Condition	A			B		C	
	N	H	W	H	W	H	W
Happy	N	3	3	11	10	18	18
	%	15	15	55	50	90	90
Average	N	4	4	5	5	1	2
	%	20	20	25	25	5	10
Unhappy	N	13	13	4	5	1	0
	%	65	65	20	25	5	0

The data presented in Table 3 show the evaluation of the couples in regard to their own marital satisfaction at three levels: happy, average, and unhappy and at the same time the percentages of these evaluations for each group. The two deviations mentioned before are considered within the normal expectancy. High-hostile groups (A and B) show more dissatisfaction and unhappiness in their marriages than the low-hostility groups (C). The percentage for High-Hostility group (A) were 15% happy, 20% average and 65% unhappy. The fact that seven couples did not consider themselves unhappy in group A can be explained in terms of the criteria we set for selection. This is a good index of the representatives of

our sample. For group B the percentages were: 55% happy, 25% average and 25% unhappy. Finally for the low hostility group (C) the percentages were: 90% happy, 5% average and none unhappy. Further statistical analysis reveals that the differences between groups A and B at the happy level are significant at $P=.05$ ($T=2.38$) between groups A, and C also significant at the $P=.01$ ($T=4.70$) as in between groups B and C ($T= 3.00$). At the unhappy level for couples of group A and B the differences of percentages are significant at the $P= .05$ ($T=2.42$) and of course for couples of group A and C but not for couples of groups B and C ($T=1.68$) at any level.

These results can be interpreted to mean that hostility seems to be related to the couples' present marital situation. Interestingly enough the selection of couples was done only on the basis of their hostility scores not on the evaluation of their marital satisfaction. The more hostile groups show a slight tendency to pretend or cover up their marital dissatisfactions making the differentiation in that regard between groups a little more undetermined. This could also happen because naturally if we think of these variables as on a continuum, the differences between extremes are more pronounced than the differences between two consecutive points on the same continuum.

Related to this is length of marriage. The means for the hostility group (A) is 6.80 years and the sd. 4.13. For group B the mean is 7.00 and sd. 3.62 and finally for the low-hostility group the mean is 6.30 and sd. 3.37. These results if compared are not significant at any level ($P = .01$ or $.05$.) T values are for A-B = .229; for A-C = .558, and for B-C = .894 (df.18). This seems to confirm our initial assumption of similar characteristics of our group. At this point a question can be raised: is length of marriage related to hostile behavior? In other words, people who have been married longer - are they more capable of better judgement and more effective handling of their feelings? It seems from these results that this assumption does not hold true.

Age We calculated the Mean Age for all husbands and wives first. The Mean Age for the husbands ranged between 30.10 and 31.05 and for the wives between 27.10 to 28.18. The data are presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4

Means Age and Sd. for Husbands and
Wives Taken Separately

Couple	A		B		C	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Husband	30.10	5.0	30.15	3.9	31.15	3.7
Wives	27.85	4.8	27.10	3.3	28.15	3.0

Further elaboration of this data indicate that the values of the differences are not significant at $P = .01$ or $.05$ (Table 5)

TABLE 5

T Values for the Differences of
Means Age Between A, B, C, Groups
 $P > .01$ (df. 38)

COUPLE	A-B	A-C	B-C
Husband	-0.035	-0.680	-0.740
Wives	-0.573	-0.236	-1.04

There is a slight increase in age as we move from more hostile groups to non-hostile groups. This is more evident if we compare the husbands and the wives together. (Table 6)

TABLE 6

Means Age and SD. of Couples Taken Together

COUPLE	A	B	C
M	28.9	28.6	29.6
SD	4.9	3.8	3.6

These results however are not significant at the .01 or .05 levels.

The T values were A-B = .348; A-C = .639; B-C = -1.14; confirming our first subsidiary hypothesis that Hostile and Non-Hostile groups do not significantly differ in terms of age.

The only conclusion we can draw from these results is that although the differences of the groups in terms of age are not statistically significant, there is some slight tendency for older people to show less hostility and age. There are however many other variables which may explain this inter-relationship satisfactorily. Older people are more experienced, more settled, better prepared to face the eventualities of married life and to handle their hostile feelings more effectively.

Education. In reference to years of education, there was no significant difference among the three groups. Table 7 gives us the means and standard deviations for husbands and wives taken separately.

TABLE 7

Means and Standard Deviations of Years of
Education for Husband and Wives Taken Separately

COUPLE	A		B		C	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Husbands	13.55	1.83	14.00	2.25	15.10	2.80
Wives	12.95	2.10	12.7	1.38	13.95	1.98

* These results are not significant at the .01 or .05 levels (Table 8)

TABLE 8

T Values for the Differences of Means of Years of
Education of Husbands and Wives Taken Separately
 $p > .01$ (df .38)

COUPLE	A-B	A-C	B-C
Husbands	0.675	2.015	1.330
Wives	0.432	-1.504	-2.257

But if husbands and wives are taken as a unit then we have the
following results. (Table 9)

TABLE 9

Means and SD. for Couples of Years of Education
for Husbands and Wives Taken as Couples

	A	B	C
M	13.25	13.35	14.52
SD	2.02	2.07	2.53

The T values of the differences of means between groups did not appear to be significant at the .01 level ($A-B=0.222$; $A-C = 2.489$; $B-C = -1.149$). Once again it seems that all the groups and the couples within the groups were pretty much within the same level of education. This also confirms our initial subsidiary hypothesis.

As it has been previously noted all the couples had graduated from High School. There were a total of 63 individuals who had attended only High School. 22 had attended Junior College, 30 College and only 8 had done graduate work. Among the latter there were one MD, one Attorney, two Engineers and one Researcher.

TABLE 10

Education Distribution for Husbands and
Wives of the Three Groups Taken Separately.
Totals and Percentages

EDUCATION	A		B		C		TOTALS	%
	H	W	H	W	H	W		
H.S.	10	13	6	15	8	11	63	53
J.C.	3	3	4	4	3	2	19	15
College	7	4	3	1	4	6	30	25
Gr. Sch.	-	-	2	-	5	1	8	7

Income and Occupation Two further characteristics of the sample were analyzed. These were income and type of occupation. In table 11 the classification of income is presented:

TABLE 11

Distribution of Income for Couples and Groups

INCOME	A		B		C		TOTALS	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
6,000-7,000	3	.05	-	-	-	-	3	.05
7,000-8,000	4	.066	3	.05	4	.006	11	.182
8,000-9,000	3	.05	4	.066	2	.003	9	.146
9,000-10,000	1	.016	5	.083	5	.083	11	.182
10,000-11,000	3	.05	3	.05	2	.03	8	.133
11,000-12,000	1	.016	1	.016	-	-	2	.032
12,000-13,000	1	.016	1	.016	3	.05	5	.082
13,000-14,000	3	.05	-	-	-	-	3	.05
14,000 or more	1	.016	3	.05	4	.066	8	.133

All the couples of our sample followed the established minimum of selection in terms of income. Only three couples in group A, are between 6,000 and 7,000 dollars annual income. If we exclude these three cases the rest of the couples seem to be evenly distributed with Mean Income for group A of 10,214 for group B:10,355 and for

C of 11,265 dollars. These figures suggest that the selection was done among couples belonging to the same socio-economic bracket. The biggest concentration of couples income is between 7,000 to 11,000. It is only couples in group C that seem to break this pattern with seven couples with an income above 12,000. Economically we could say the groups are representative of the middle and upper middle levels of the generality of Chicago.

Table 12 which gives the classification of the couples mostly husbands on the basis of their occupations shows group C has more professionals (8.3%) than group B or A (1.6%)

TABLE 12

Distribution of Couples According to Occupation of Husbands

CATEGORY	A		B		C		TOTAL	
CATEGORY	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professional or Managerial	1	1.6	1	1.6	5	8.3	7	11.5
Semiprofessional or low Managerial	7	11.6	11	18.3	6	10	24	39.9
Skilled	12	20	8	13.3	9	15	29	48.3

It is interesting to note that the wives in the C group none of them works outside the house. Their occupation is in their home as housewives. Group B gives a 95% of housewives and Group A a 75%. The five couples in which the wives work for group A are either divorced or separated. Which is in agreement with the data of marital

status we considered before. Their type of occupation varies - one is an Office Manager, one a Nurse, one an IBM analyst and one a Receptionist.

Number of Children Children are important in marriage dynamics.

In our Catholic couples this was an interesting factor of family organization. Table 13 shows that less hostile groups have the tendency toward smaller families.

TABLE 13

Distribution of Number of Children Per Couple and Group

Number	A	B	C
0	1	1	0
1	6	4	5
2	6	7	8
3	3	4	4
4	-	2	4
5	2	1	-
6	1	1	-
7	-	-	-

The number of couples having one child is five for group C and the number of couples having four children for Group C, is four. The distribution of children and the size of family seems to be

more consistent with the general pattern of organization in less hostile group than in the other two groups.

Summary The major portion of this chapter has consisted in the description of sample characteristics. There were two subsidiary hypotheses which we set out to prove. It appears that the first hypothesis received stronger statistical support than the second, just from comparing marital status and satisfaction, age, education, income, and occupation, length of marriage and number of children. The evidence for the second hypothesis is more questionable in general. For our purpose however it was sufficient to prove that there is a tendency in less hostile groups toward better family organization understood in relation to the above mentioned variables. In other words we have said that low-hostility groups will as a whole tend to be more effective and constructive in dealing with their own problems and organizing themselves in regard to family effectiveness.

What we can say ought to be very general. No generalizations can be taken too seriously because our point has been to prove more similarities than the differences for a better understanding of our groups and better foundation for later generalizations. The analysis has shown us that our groups are in some variables pretty much identical and that these factors are no causa-

CHAPTER V

Analysis of Results

We have dealt in Chapter IV with the description of our sample. Now in chapters V and VI we want to present the results of the study. Chapter V will consider hostility as a function of adjustment and this in two sections. The first section will present data pertaining to the validity of the TAT as an instrument to measure the hostility variable in marriage. We will compare the results the three groups obtained from the TAT and MAI results of couples and individuals alike. And more specially the internal correlations between hostility and adjustment as measured by TAT and MAI respectively. Chapter VI will study the origin of hostility in married couples.

In general in this chapter we shall see hostility as a function of maladjustment. The point we will try to emphasize is that there is a relationship between these two variables. We do not want to say anything in terms of cause and effect. This is, I believe, a salutary distinction because our intent is to separate facts from theories. To a great extent the lack of

distinction has hindered the discussion of the issue. More re-research is needed and until this is done we had better put limitations to our findings.

Analysis of the Data

A restatement of the hypothesis in both the null and the alternate forms is necessary. These hypotheses are presented here as they were formulated prior to our study.

1. IHS and TAT Data

Null Hypothesis: High-Medium-Low Hostility Couples.

- A. Those couples previously selected and distributed in three groups (IHS) are not different in amount of hostility.
- B. Those couples when given the TAT show no different amount of hostility either.

Alternate Hypothesis:

- A. Those couples previously selected and distributed in three groups via IHS show significant differences in regard to their amount of hostility when compared with each other.
- B. Those couples when given the TAT show significantly different amount of hostility. In other words the TAT

appears to be a valid instrument to measure married couples account of hostility.

2. High-Hostility Couples

Null Hypothesis: Hostility a function of maladjustment

Those couples distributed in three groups (high-medium and low) are not different in their amount of maladjustment.

Alternate Hypothesis: High hostility couples show less and poorer adjustment than Medium-hostility couples and both High and Medium less and poorer adjustment than low Hostility couples.

3. High Hostility and Maladjustment Individuals (husbands and wives).

Null Hypothesis: Husbands and wives hostility and maladjustment.

The amount of hostility and maladjustment for the man of the three groups is not different than that of women for the same groups.

We shall now touch upon each one of these hypothesis in more detail.

TAT and IHS In order to test this hypothesis, the IHS scores obtained by the couples of each group are compared with the scores obtained by the same couples on the TAT, and then in order to be

more specific we shall compare the results of husbands and wives taken as individuals.

Table 14 shows the means and SD. obtained by couples of the three groups in the IHS and TAT respectively.

TABLE 14

Means and SD. for the Couples of Groups
A, B, C Obtained from the IHS and TAT

SCALE	A		B		C	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
IOWA	55.32	12.8	35.6	12.9	19.40	12.0
TAT	18.70	4.3	15.5	3.9	16.05	5.3

From Simple observation (Table 14) we can see that there is a progressive decrease in the amount of hostility from group A (high hostility group) to group C (low hostility group) in both tests. The decrease for the IHS is explained by the same statistical procedure we used in selecting the couples. The TAT on the other hand keeps the same pattern we used in selecting the couples. The decreasing for groups A and B or A and C where the differences are more obstensible but not between groups B (medium-hostility group) and C. The mean-hostility for group C is for practically purposes the same as it is for group B (TAT-16.05) (IHS-15.5).

If we obtain the T values for the differences

of means of the three groups we observe the same characteristics (Table 15). The groups as measured by the IHS differ significantly. If measured by the TAT they differ too except for group B and C where the T value at the .01 is far below (-.48) the T value corresponding at the .01 level of significance.

TABLE 15

T Values for the Couples of Groups
A,B,C

SCALE	A - B	A - C	B - C
IHS	6.82**	12.92**	5.82**
TAT	3.41**	2.44*	-.43

** $p < .01$

* $p < .05$

Finally the correlations for each group between TAT and IHS scores are for group A = .13; for group B = .03; and for group C = .23 which we found to be nonsignificant at any level. (Table 21)

When the scores of husbands and wives are compared, it is apparent that the results are in the same direction we had for the couples.

TABLE 16

Means and SD. for Husbands and Wives of the Three
Different Groups Obtained from the TAT and IHS

Scale	COUPLE	A		B		C	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
IHS	Husbands	60.35	12.8	38.35	12.93	22.65	11.93
	Wives	50.30	10.68	32.95	12.37	16.15	11.16
TAT	Husbands	20.65	3.80	15.20	4.55	15.95	5.22
	Wives	16.75	3.97	15.90	3.12	16.15	5.44

However it is to be noted that husbands tend to be more hostile than their wives in both tests although the significant differences are found only in the IHS not for the TAT.

TABLE 17

T Values of Mean Differences for Husbands and Wives
Scores on the TAT and IHS Scales

COUPLE	A-B		A-C		B-C	
	IHS	TAT	IHS	TAT	IHS	TAT
Husbands	5.40**	4.12**	9.61**	3.26**	3.99**	-.48
Wives	4.74**	0.75	9.88**	0.40	4.51**	-.18

** $p < .01$

The IHS significantly differentiates husbands and wives of the three groups in the hostility variable.

(Table 17) The TAT Scale however does not seem to be sensitive enough to make the same differentiation of groups. (T values for wives were not significant at the .05 level) This is probably due to several factors. First, the IHS measures hostility more in terms of social desirability, which as we explained before, is related to unfavorableness and unfavorableness of the individuals' image of themselves. It would appear then that only on this basis men would score higher than women because they are more able to express overtly their aggressive feelings without being chastised for it. The IHS would seem to be a more valid instrument in measuring these aspects of hostility which the TAT Scale is not concerned with. On the other hand the TAT Hostility Scale evaluates a content, not an attitude and it is more concerned with behavior in all possible dimensions not only overt but also covert and phantasied. This certainly would go beyond the mere attitudes or reactivity of the subject to a situation which has been picked up "a priori". The TAT Scale presents clear limitations although Stone has tried to improve it by introducing the concept of potential hostility. The concept has not been sufficiently clarified or validated as yet and for this reason we have not used it in our study.

The intergroup correlations between TAT and IHS scores for husbands and wives were not in the predicted

direction. All of them reached no level of significance. We even got two negatives correlations for the TAT husbands and wives of groups B-C. This was expected because the differentiation of the groups between these two groups was not too definitive. (Table 18)

TABLE 18

Correlations Between IHS and TAT Scores
for Husbands and Wives Separately

GROUPS	HUSBANDS	WIVES
A	.13	-.27
B	.25	.13
C	.30	.18

In summary the TAT Hostility Scale does not measure the same kind of hostility the IHS does. The Iowa Hostility Scale seems to be emphasize more the attitudinal aspects based on the concept of social desirability, vitiated by favorableness and unfavorableness of the subject's own image. The TAT releases more unconscious hidden material and potentially aggressive behavior as will than the IHS. What about our hypothesis? The first part of our first hypothesis regarding the validity of the TAT in measuring hostility is only partially supported in our study. The IHS discriminates better the groups in terms of hostility

although this was naturally set prior to our study. The TAT does discriminate the groups too somehow but not at any significant degree. Our third hypothesis on the other hand received strong support too from our data. Men show greater amount of hostility and this more so on the TAT. Finally, our second hypothesis will be considered later on in our study together with some aspects of the relationship between hostility and adjustment..

Hostility and Marital Maladjustment

This second section will deal more specifically with aspects of the relationship between hostility and adjustments which we have summarized in our third hypothesis: Hostility is a function of maladjustment. We want to see what hostility may do to the marital dyad functioning.

Most of the studies on the subject emphasized rather the pathology of the individuals concerned as the outcome of hostility. (Schodel & Lipezz, M. 1957, Lindsey, Tejessy, 1965). Our main concern however is with the couple as a unit,

with their interaction, their relationship when posited within a hostile framework. Another limitation of earlier studies is the kind of conceptualizations still vague and undetermined. We would like to start this section off by defining hostility and maladjustment operationally.

We have said that hostility is 'antagonism either directly or indirectly toward a person or object involving either verbal or physical expression'. There are three elements involved: The antagonism, the object of the antagonism, and the expression of it. We have talked about this before. Quantitatively we have been able to obtain measures of hostility employing the IHS and the TAT scales.

Maladjustment on the other hand refers specifically to marital maladjustment and implies marital disorganization, a state of disorder within the relationship. More specifically it points to difficulties in the patterns of interaction and communication within the marital dyad with marital dissolution, through divorce, separation, desertion or any other form of 'emotional divorce' as a possible outcome. We are not talking about adjustment or maladjustment of the individual. We do not want to imply it or exclude it. We prefer to think within the theoretical framework of family therapy: the identified patient

husband or wife carries the symptoms of the dysfunctional relationship:

For practical purposes marital adjustment is understood qualitatively or quantitatively. Qualitatively it refers to the kind of relationship between the partners: satisfaction, frustration, understanding. Quantitatively it refers to adjusted or maladjusted and severely maladjusted scores following the norms of the study done by the Manson and Lerner, (1962).

They established the following categories:

For men, scores of

30 or less, adjusted

30-50, maladjusted.

50 or higher, severely maladjusted.

For women, scores of

35 or less, adjusted

35-50, maladjusted

50 or higher, severely maladjusted.

In terms of predictions we expect our results to come out the following direction:

1. Couples with high hostility scores would tend to be low on adjustment. Correlations between hostility and adjustment would

tend to be low. Pathology of the relationship is more flagrant in this group. Pathology of the individuals as judged from the social intakes is also higher.

2. Couples with medium hostility scores would tend to be medium on adjustment. Correlations between hostility and adjustment would tend to be higher than on Group A but lower in group C.
3. Pathology of the dyad is less frequent.

3. Couples with low hostility scores would have a tendency to be higher on adjustment. Correlations would tend to be higher than in the other two groups. The couples of this group would present fewer indications of pathology either as couples or as individuals.

In general more differentiation is expected between the extreme groups A and C than between the two consecutive groups A and B or B and C. This would confirm our hypothesis of hostility and adjustment as continua.

To test our hypothesis we shall compare the results obtained by the couples on the IHS, TAT on hostility and correlate those with the results obtained on the MAI by the same couples. We are already familiar with the first set of results but we shall repeat them here for the sake of clarity.

TABLE 19

Means and SD. on the IHS, TAT and MAI
for Couples of the Three Different Groups

SCALES	A		B		C	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
IHS	55.3	12.8	35.6	12.9	19.4	12.0
TAT	18.7	4.3	15.5	3.9	16.0	5.3
MAI	41.3	22.9	18.1	28.1	7.2	11.6

Offhand we see that the means become progressively lower as we move from couples of group A to couples of group C. The TAT upsets this pattern throwing almost identical mean values for couples of group B and couples of group C. This could indicate that the Stone's Hostility Scale, based on the TAT content, is not sensitive enough to appreciate nuances of dysfunctional character between groups situated consecutively on the continuum of hostility. It seems that the Scale is more reliable the more distant the groups are. In other words, it appears a pretty reliable instrument with groups situated at the extreme of the continuum. In general this tends to confirm our subsidiary hypothesis we just mentioned at the beginning of this section about the differentiation of our groups.

T values seem to confirm this observation. All the values are significant for the IHS as we have seen

before at the .01 level. The TAT again presents the same exceptions between couples of group B and C. The MAI seems also to follow the TAT pattern.

TABLE 20

T Values for the Differences of Means of the Three Groups

SCALES	A-B	A-C	B-C
IHS	6.37	12.76	5.7
TAT	3.36	2.40*	0.47
MAI	2.19*	3.54	1.44

*p .05

All the couples intercorrelations in the three different groups appear to be in the predicted direction from lower correlations (Group A) to higher correlations (group B and C). None of these correlations is statistically significant. (Table 21)

TABLE 21

Product Moment Correlations for all Groups
on the Scores of the Three Scales

SCALES	GROUP	IHS	TAT
MAI	A	.25	.13
	B	.11	.07
	C	.04	-.02
TAT	A	.13	-
	B	.08	-
	C	.23	-

Two things puzzle us at this point. First the low correlations obtained and secondly why these were nonsignificant. The most obvious explanation for the lack of correlation seems to be that the instruments are not actually measuring the same aspects of the same variables. The IHS for example, as we mentioned before, measures different aspects of Hostility than those measured by the TAT Aggressive Content Scale, and when both are correlated with the MAI, the latter shows higher degree of correlation with the IHS than with the TAT Scale probably for the same reason that the MAI measures marital adjustment in terms of overt behavior paying little or no attention to covert behavior.

If we now turn to the evaluation made by the social worker who interviewed the couples at the CFCS when they first came seeking help (couples of group A and B) we find that in group A, 35% of couples were recommended for psychological evaluation (these couples still remained within our selection criteria in regard to mental illness). Six months later 20% of the same group had seen a psychiatrist, having 10% receiving psychiatric treatment. In group B the percentages were much lower, 15% were initially referred for psychological evaluation and only 10% had six months later seen a psychiatrist and 5% had received treatment. There was no information about the couples of group C in

terms of psychological evaluation or psychiatric treatment.

Individually we obtained the same results, Table 22 shows us the different means and SD. for husbands and wives.

TABLE 22

Means and SD. for Husbands and Wives
on the IHS, TAT, and MAI

SCALES	GROUPS	A		B		C	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
IOWA	Husb	60.35	12.8	38.35	12.93	22.65	11.93
	Wives	50.30	10.68	32.95	12.37	16.15	11.16
TAT	Husb	20.65	3.77	15.20	4.55	15.95	5.22
	Wives	16.75	3.97	15.90	3.12	16.15	5.44
MAI	Husb.	37.85	26.4	18.35	25.6	5.15	7.40
	Wives	41.80	32.7	16.9	23.55	7.25	13.26

The T values for the MAI reveal that the differences of means for all groups are significant at the .01 level. The only value which was found to be non-significant was for the means of wives of group B and C.

TABLE 23

T Values of the Means for Husbands and Wives on the MAI

COUPLES	A - B	A - C	B - C
Husbands	2.30*	5.13**	2.15*
Wives	3.1**	4.6**	1.56

** p < .01

* p < .05

These results in general are in the same direction than the more general results for couples. The IHS and the TAT and the MAI for the individuals confirm the general results. As we mentioned before husbands are shown more hostile than wives in general although the latter obtained higher scores of maladjustment, except for wives of group C. Finally the means of group A clearly indicate that this group is very much within the maladjusted population.

TABLE 24

CORRELATIONS ON THE THREE TESTS FOR HUSBANDS AND WIVES OF ALL THE GROUPS

	GROUPS	IFS		TAT	
		H	W	H	W
MAI	A	.53	.15	.37	.09
	B	.08	.14	-.15	.45
	C	.04	.09	-.30	.12

These correlations were all in the predicted direction, they ran from higher to lower correlations in a progressive fashion, for high, medium and low hostility groups. Low and even negative correlations were expected in the low hostility groups. For Group C, the lowest hostility group, all four correlations were low and insignificant. There was even one negative correlation. This all was suspected and seems to support our hypothesis that low hostility couples are better adjusted than higher hostility couples. One question however remains in our mind in regard to the correlations of groups B and C, why low correlations? For group B we found low and insignificant correlations except for the wives on the TAT. In general this seems also to confirm our hypothesis especially if we accept the conclusion of our previous section that groups consecutively situated on a hostility continuum would not essentially differ as much as groups at the extreme of the same continuum. If this is the case then we should expect also low and even negative correlations. The 'r' for the wives on the TAT is slightly significant at the .05 level and the reason for this it occurs to me, is because the TAT Scale is measuring some of the personality maladjustment registered among the wives of this group: 15% of the couples of group B we said were referred for psychological evaluation

the "identified patient" being the wives (10%). For group A the situation is different. We expected and we obtained higher correlations between hostility and adjustment than what we obtained for groups B and C. We expected also significant correlations this was only partially obtained. Only the husbands on the IHS appear significant at the .01 level. These are the same individuals we found very high in hostility (higher than their wives). On the TAT the same husbands almost reached a level of significance ($p = .05$). The two correlations for wives of group A were low and insignificant. This can be explained partly because these were the same individuals who got lower scores on hostility on both the IHS and TAT.

The evidence so far presented tells us that there is some relationship between hostility and adjustment but also warns us to be careful with unjustified generalizations. There are two main sources of limitation responsible for the results obtained. First, the limitation of our instrumentation. The TAT appears to be a sensitive instrument to measure personality traits and functioning of an individual. Whether it measures more than that is very questionable. The MAI attempts to measure interactional perceptual processes. We accept the limitation that correlations on this basis would be low. Another

limitation was in terms of our sample size. Should we increase the number of couples our correlations would have come out higher for the simple reason that we would have included more cases of maladjusted couples within our sample. Keeping a strict criteria of selection of couples in terms of maladjustment. Severe personality maladjustment or serious marital disorganization were initially excluded when our sample was selected.

Looking at the whole problem of the relationship from a more impressionistic angle, I think we can add new evidence in support of our hypothesis. Marital disorganization implies a vast range of problems and difficulties experienced by the couple in their marital life. We want to present next the problems as they were seen and expressed by the couples. This may help us to interpret the correlations above studied without too much pessimism, Table 25 and 26 tells us about these problems.

TABLE 25

Number of Problems for Each Group as Expressed
by Couples on the MAI

GROUPS	MAI
A	1550
B	694
C	247

If we try to spell this out, then we will find the following distribution of problems.

TABLE 26

Distribution of Marital Problems as Seen by
Husbands and Wives of Different Groups

GROUPS		FR	DO	IM	NT	SP	NM	CH	IS	PH	AB	SL	IN
A	h	72	63	168	90	22	76	14	24	15	29	66	79
	w	121	73	220	103	35	85	21	33	13	39	61	79
B	h	25	31	85	59	12	48	4	15	20	12	27	29
	w	38	72	78	47	9	38	10	10	11	4	30	2
C	h	6	20	22	20	1	15	1	3	1	2	11	0
	w	12	23	38	20	2	23	3	1	5	5	5	3

Table 27 presents the sex main areas of difficulties and problems

TABLE 27

Distribution of Areas of Problems as expressed by
Couples of the Three Groups

GROUPS	IM	NT	FR	IN	MM	DO	SL
A	388	193	193	158	151	136	127
B	163	106	63	54	86	63	57
C	60	40	22	3	38	43	16

We can see that couples of group A present absolutely more problems than the couples of the other two groups. The differences

between groups especially A and C are significant. This represents a sharp contrast with the almost flat evaluation of their own marital situation as expressed by the couples when they had first come to the CFCS for help. The lack of understanding, insight and precision is striking.

TABLE 28

Distribution of Areas of Problems as Expressed
by Couples Taken from Social Intakes

GROUPS	SL	IM	IN	FR	NT	DO	SP
A	14	14	13	12	10	7	7
B	5	4	5	4	4	2	1
C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The six areas which were mentioned more often by the couples are the sexual (SL), immaturity (IM) incompatibility (IN) family relations (FR) neurotic traits (NT) dominance (DO) and sociopathic traits (SP). The (SL) and (IM) were the most often mentioned clusters. There was no information available about the problems of the control group. (C) (Table 28)

Summary

In this section we set out to show that hostility and maladjustment were correlated. We predicted more maladjustment for higher hostile groups, lesser for lower

hostility groups. These correlations are more significant between extreme groups than it is between closer groups. The evidence came out in the predicted direction although not all the correlations between the two variables were significant. Different explanations were offered but our conclusion was that in an area which is so complex and undifferentiated any results have to be taken with discretion. Our evidence was built upon statistical analysis combined with a little bit of impressionistic insight. More research is needed on the construction of better instruments, and on differentiating the variables of hostility and adjustment.

Thus in general we may conclude that our first main hypothesis has been confirmed by the results. The next chapter will be on the analysis of the evidence to support the second main hypothesis on the origin of hostility in married couples. Furthermore, few of the subsidiary hypotheses that we established in Chapter 1 have been also confirmed. We have seen that hostility is a gestalt which exists in the individual as a continuum. There is enough evidence to substantiate this statement. The least we can say about hostility is that although we cannot predict maladjustment from hostility we can see hostility as a fairly reliable index of maladjustment.

But only and in so far as we take the whole individual and the whole process into account. Fragmentary evaluations would only lead us to distortions about the ongoing process. On the other hand we have to accept a conclusion that is a confirmation of other studies that the TAT is not a highly sensitive instrument especially when dealing with aspects of covert behavior. It can be considered useful and consequently we have to talk in different ways about the validity of the TAT.

Origin of Hostility

A number of studies (Rosenbaum, Stanners, & 1960. Rosenbaum, & deCharms, 1960. Berkowitz, 1960. Pepitone, 1964) have tried to demonstrate the relationship between personality characteristics as measured by questionnaire and inventories and hostile behavior. This is a crucial point especially in the study of dyadic relationships in which as Tagiuri has pointed out "we still do not have an explicit systematic knowledge about the two-person groups in general to deal with such particulars as the problems of what interaction of personality characteristics makes, say, for a smooth marital situation" (Tagiuri, 1953) or for that matter we could add the problem of hostile relationships.

Our question for this last chapter is in a dyadic situation for practical purposes here in a marital situation, where does hostility come from? In general we could consi-

der two main sources which have been traditional psychoanalytic school had approached the problem of the origin of hostility: The traditional psychonalytic school has approached the problem of the origin of hostility from the angle of what the environment does to the individual. The individual placed in a dog-eat-dog situation struggles his way out through flight or fight. The attempt to deviate from it or any failure to comply to it brings pain and frustration. Hopeless situations generate directly or indirectly antagonism. Leon Saul summarized it in his book: The Hostile Mind (1956. p.p.19.)

"In so far as conditioning influence impair the emotional development form an infantile or corrupt conscience and cause disordered childhood reactions, the patterns then persist as sources of irritation, frustration and anxiety, and therefore of hostility..."

and later on he adds,

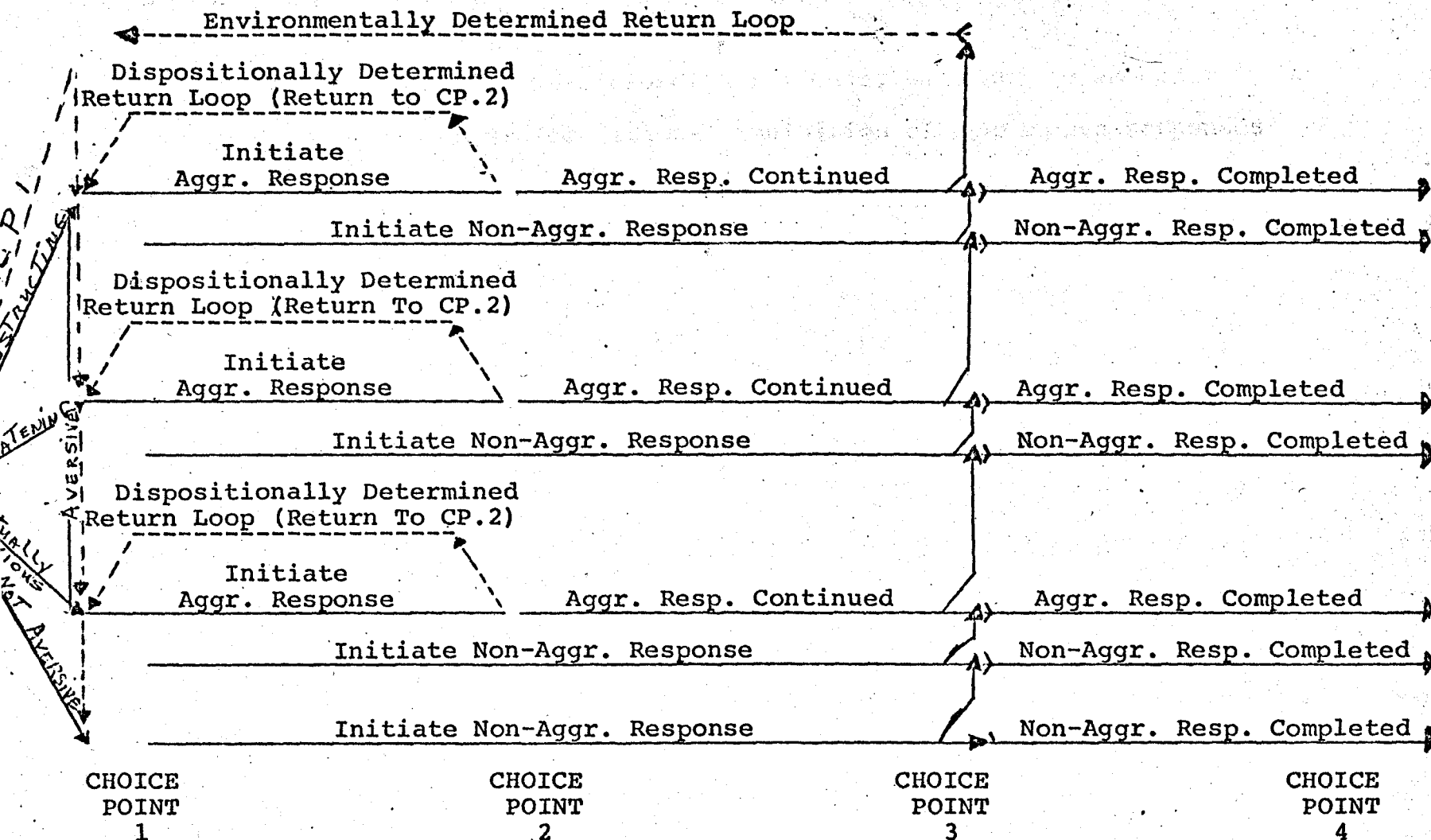
"A man feels a nameless, indefinable, inferiority, which he may not even admit to himself. He cannot come to grips with its sources. He may try to change but the core of his personality is so fixed that without treatment or unusual experiences, he is unable to do so. He is threatened, but he cannot change, he cannot flee and he cannot fight the threat himself. He is blind to his inner unknown assailant. The result is what has been aptly termed 'impotent rage'. Irritated and threatened from within the individual generates a constant pressure of rage and hostility that can come out in various directions-against the strong-whom he bitterly envies or against the weak, who remind him of his own inferiority. The following summarizes the usual route of hostility:

Influences harmful to the child's emotional development
crippling or impairment of the personality (real inferiority)
Feeling of inferiority, more or less conscious
Irritation, insecurity, anxiety

Reactions against this, among them:

1. overcompensatory egotism
2. need for power
3. rage and hostility

Hostility according to this model is a destructive and generalized force from within: "the tendency to do something harmful to another organism or to itself" (Saul 1956).



CHOICE POINT (CP) 1 - Classification of stimulus

Dispositional determinants: optimism, self-esteem, hostility, transient states of perceptual orientation.

Autonomic state: Arousal may be conditioned to stimulus.

CHOICE POINT 2 - Initiation of aggressive or nonaggressive response (fractional anticipatory goal response)

Dispositional determinants: aggressive tendency or aggressive habit.

Autonomic state: (a) Arousal may be classically conditioned to either aggressive or nonaggressive response and becomes established as an operant energizer. In the case of aggressive response, it may be labeled anger. (b) Arousal may be classically conditioned to either aggressive or nonaggressive response and becomes established as an operant energizer. In the case of nonaggressive response, it may be labeled fear.

CHOICE POINT 3 - Continuation of aggressive response, weakened by amount > 0 , or return to CP 2

Dispositional determinants: conditional inhibition of aggressive responses (e.g., aggression anxiety).

CHOICE POINT 4 - Continuation and completion of aggressive or nonaggressive response or return to CP 1 or CP 2

Situational determinants: social and other reinforcement cues.

Even if we recognize the value of this explanation of the genesis of hostility, it has been hampered by two major difficulties: one is the vagueness of its conceptual constructs, and the other is the overlooking of hostility as a process of interaction between the individual and objects outside the individual.

Feshbach, (1964) has presented a fairly simple Flow Chart for aggressive behavior which we have accepted as a model for our explanation of hostility in marriage. The Flow Chart consists of four choice points that explain the whole process in a more comprehensive fashion. Figure 1 summarizes for us the whole process. The reader will find a more comprehensive explanation in Appendix III.

The basic assumption here is that there is always a process of Interaction taking place. The feelings and experiences of the observer influences the way in which he perceives the outside world (Ittelson, 1953). Let us illustrate this with an example from person perception which is practically the only case we are interested in.

Let us suppose that the husband (H) likes his wife (W). The normal expectation is that the wife will like her husband. In the case of an unhappy marriage, however, we

can have the case in which H thinks W likes him and if W is asked H proves to be mistaken. But why does H like W? Simply because he sees W as liking him. When this process is altered H dislikes W because he perceives W as disliking him. Here is a paradox: H's like of W is supported by his perceiving that W likes him, but this very perception occurs in part at least because he likes W. We might conclude that the liking or disliking of a person with whom we interact can be colored by our own perceptions but our perceptions are certainly colored by the physical characteristics and actions of the other person as they are perceived but these characteristics and actions as perceived may themselves be influenced by the observer's own attitudes, feelings, etc. This will be the purpose of our last chapter to examine this aspect of the problem in the marital relationship namely how the perceptions of the one partner affects the relationship and generates hostility. And continuing along this line, we would like to examine whether these perceptions have any relation with the needs of the individual. This is what we may have said before when we stated that if the relationship satisfies him or her, they are happy; if not they are unhappy. A process of disliking leads to frustration and eventually to sheer hostility either against himself, herself or the other.

We are doing injustice to the study of perception. As Ittelson (1958) has pointed out "the subject matter of person perception has not as yet been sharply defined, the problems have not been clearly delineated, nor has an adequate theory been formulated". This is the reason why we have preferred to approach the whole thing from the Feshbach's Model for it gives us a more comprehensive view contemplating the process as a whole, resulting from the person. All we want is to open an area of investigation to obtain better controls of variables affecting the interactional process between husbands and wives. We do not deny factors which have been considered to be important in the perception of the outer world as familiarity and emotional loading, we feel that the areas of needs may offer a more promising results.

There is another thing I want to say before we go into the specifics. Present-day theorists seem to build theories on the basic assumption that the perceptual process is something like a chain of events which do not change their orders depending upon the experimental operations, one is making. Thus perception in some sense is primary and must come before states and responses. Stimulus must precede response. In our case perception first and hostility later. Although

this is true it can be misleading for what really matters is the whole process and this is what we do not want to lose sight of. We may not be able to study now the whole process but the fact that we are studying a little bit of it does not mean that is all that is contained there. In a sense this is an artificial way of handling it, but it is the only way we can approach the matter because of its complexity.

The hypotheses to be studied in both null and alternate forms are the following:

1. Hostility - Perception Data

Null Hypothesis: Hostility of married couples is a function of perception of the self and of the mate.

Those couples who compose the High Hostility Group (A) are not different in

1. their perception of self
2. their perception of their mate from those couples who compose the lower hostility groups.

Alternate Hypothesis:

Those couples who compose the High Hostility Group (A) are different from the Lower Hostility Groups (B and C) in

1. their self perceptions
2. their perceptions of their mates

Common sense and psychological theory suggest that our ways of perceiving others are basic to interaction with them. In our subsidiary hypothesis we maintain that self-perception is more important than perception of the mate in this interaction. On the other hand we believe and this would be our second subsidiary hypothesis that although no significant differences exist between self evaluation and mate evaluation hostile husbands tend to evaluate their mates lower than themselves and hostile wives tend to evaluate their mates higher than themselves.

2. Perception-Needs Data

Null Hypothesis: Perception of self is a function of need structure

Those couples who compose the high hostility group are not different in their respective need structure from those couples who compose the lower hostility groups.

Alternate Hypothesis:

Those couples composing the high hostility groups are dependent in their respective need structure from couples forming the low hostile groups.

Our investigation will be concentrated on six particular needs:

Exhibitionism, Abasement, Nurturance, Succorance, Dominance and Aggression.

For purposes of both clarity and measurement the following are operational definitions of basic concepts employed in this part of our second study.

Self-perception: the way each partner sees him or herself independently.

It is measured by self-evaluation scores of the MAI.

Either H or W for husband or wife respectively.

Mate-perception: The way one partner sees the other partner. It is measured by spouse evaluation scores of the MAI. Either H as seen by W or W as seen by the husband.

The needs we are using in this study are six: Abasement, Nurturance Exhibitionism, Succorance, Dominance, Aggression. Their definitions are taken from the EPPS Manual (Edwards, 1959).

Abasement (aba) "to feel guilty when one does something wrong, to accept blame when things do not go right, to feel that personal pain and misery suffered does more good than harm, to feel the need for punishment for wrong doing, to feel better when giving in and avoiding a fight than when having one's own way, to feel the need for confession of errors, to feel timid in the presence of superiors to feel inferior to others in most respects."

Nurturance (nur) "To help friends when they are in trouble, to assist others less fortunate, to treat others with kindness and sympathy, to forgive others, to do small favors for others, to be generous with others, to sympathize with others who are hurt or sick, to show a great deal of affection toward others to have others confide in one about personal problems.

Exhibition (exh) "To say witty and clever things, to tell amusing jokes and stories, to talk about personal adventures and experiences, to have others notice and comment upon one's appearance, to say things just to see what effect it will have on others, to talk about personal achievements, to be the center of attention, to use words that others do not know the meaning of, to ask questions others cannot answer."

Succorance (suc) "To have others provide help when in trouble, to seek encouragement from others, to have others be kindly, to have others be sympathetic and understanding about personal problems, to receive a great deal of affection from others, to have others do favors cheerfully, to be helped by others when depressed to have others feel sorry when one is sick, to have a fuss made over one when hurt.

Dominance (dom) To argue for one's point of view, to be a leader in groups to which one belongs, to be regarded by others as a leader, to be elected or appointed chairman of committees, to make group decisions, to settle arguments and disputes between others, to persuade and influence others to do what one wants, to supervise and direct the actions of others, to tell others how to do their jobs.

Aggression (agg) To attack contrary points of view, to tell others what one thinks about them, to criticize others publicly, to make fun of others, to tell others off when disagreeing with them, to get revenge for insults, to become angry, to blame others when things go wrong, to read newspapers accounts of violence.

In order to test the first hypothesis of this second part of our study, correlations were obtained between.

self-perception and hostility scores for both IHS and TAT

self-perception and evaluation of the mate

self-perception and adjustment scores on the MAI, for both couples and individual partners alike.

The means of couples as shown in table 29 point toward the same characteristic we encountered in the first part of our study.

TABLE 29

Means and SD for Couples of all Groups
in Four Variables

GROUPS		SELF	SPOUSE	MAI	IHS	TAT
A	M	11.7	22.12	41.32	55.32	18.70
	SD	10.6	19.71	29.97	12.84	4.33
B	M	5.50	9.52	17.65	35.65	15.55
	SD	5.49	16.54	24.61	12.94	3.92
C	M	2.42	2.77	6.20	19.40	16.05
	SD	3.66	7.62	10.85	12.00	5.33

Means tend to increase as we move from high-hostility to low-hostility groups. This seems to indicate that as we app-

reach less hostile groups the couples tend to look at themselves more positively. The T values confirm this impression. All values are significant at .01 level.

TABLE 30

T Values for all Variables for the Three Groups

GROUPS	SELF	SPOUSE	MAI	IHS	TAT
A-B	3.33**	2.19**	3.76**	6.82**	3.41**
A-C	4.71**	5.71**	6.38**	12.92**	2.44**
B-C	2.90**	2.31**	2.44**	5.82**	-0.48**

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

The correlations for high hostility couples on the self-perception is .43 which is significant at the .01 level. For lower hostility groups the correlation for B is .20 and for C is also .20 which again underlines the idea of the non differentiation between these two lower groups. These correlations are neither high nor significant. Correlations between TAT hostility scores and self-perception are low and non-significant but this was expected from the results of the first part of the study. Nevertheless the same progressive degree of relationship is noted A = .19; B = .09 and C = .02. Finally correlations between adjustment and self-

perception are the highest and most significant of all, the three groups.

TABLE 31
Correlations of all Variables

SCALES	GROUPS	TAT	SELF	SPOUSE	MAI
IHS	A	.13	.43**	.08	.26
	B	.08	.20	.10	.11
	C	.23	.21	-.10	.04
TAT	A		.19	.01	.14
	B		.10	.01	.08
	C		.03	.04	-.02
SELF	A			.25	.57**
	B			.74**	.85**
	C			.27	.63**
SPOUSE	A				.90**
	B				.97**
	C				.91**

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

From these results we draw the following conclusion:

1. The null hypothesis stating that there was no difference between high and low hostility groups in regard to perceptions of self and perceptions of the mate was rejected. The high-hostility group (A) appears to be significantly different in self-perceptions, if compared with low-hostility groups (B and C). Of course we are reminded again that the difference between

extreme groups A and C is greater than between contiguous groups (A and B or B and C).

2. The IHS is shown to be a sensitive instrument to measure the hostility in a social non-threatening situation. The TAT seems to present definitive limitations. Either the TAT measures more unconscious, symbolic material which is not acted out significantly to be measured as overt behavior or is simply too threatening to the individuals who tend to inhibit their responses. In other words the TAT appears to be a less valid instrument for the measurement of hostility of married couples.

3. In terms of adjustment we find that couples of the high-hostility group (A) express a more negative self-evaluation indicative of their own negative perceptions. It seems that despite their efforts to maintain a good defensive system these couples portrait themselves more pessimistically.

4. Our results are in perfect agreement with findings of similar studies. Rosenbaum & DeCharm, (1960) found that subjects with low self-esteem are more inclined to hostility and aggression than subjects with high- self-esteem especially when exposed to threats. Eastmen, (1957) in an different kind of study found that marital happiness (adjustment) is related to self-acceptance.

But what is the real relationship between hostility and self or mate perception? Partial correlations obtained between hostility and self and mate perception, partialling mate perception and self perception respectively may help us to understand that relationship. (Table 32)

TABLE 32

Partial Correlations Between Hostility
and Self and Mate Perception

IHS	A	.43	.23
IHS	B	.20	-.08
	C	.24	.15

The T values for these correlations when partiallyng out the mate perception and holding the self-perception still are all significant, except for couples of group B. The "T" values were: A = 3.00 significant at .01 level; B = .42 non-significant and C = 1.7. significant only at the .05 level.

At this point we would like to warn against unwarranted generalizations from these results. It is not our intention to establish any kind of casual relationship between self-perception and hostility. Our only definitive statement is that self perception seems to be better correlated than mate-perception with aggressive behavior. It seems that the individual

with his personality and psychological apparatus reacts to the stimuli coming from the environment in peculiar fashion pretty much determined by the manner in which he sees and evaluates himself. This is in agreement with the above mentioned studies.

To confirm our results from another angle let us take a look at the husbands and wives' results separately. Table 33 present means and SD.

TABLE 33

Means and SD for Husbands and Wives of all Groups
in five Variables

GROUP		SELF		SPOUSE		MAI		IHS		TAT	
		H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W
A	M	13.0	10.4	13.1	26.1	37.8	44.8	60.3	50.3	20.6	16.7
	SD	12.6	7.7	17.9	20.5	26.4	32.7	12.8	10.6	3.7	3.9
B	M	5.9	5.1	9.0	10.0	18.3	16.9	38.3	32.9	15.2	15.9
	SD	5.7	5.2	15.4	17.5	25.6	23.5	12.9	12.3	4.5	3.1
C	M	2.2	2.6	2.0	3.5	5.1	7.2	22.6	16.1	15.9	16.1
	SD	3.4	3.8	2.5	10.4	7.4	13.3	11.9	11.1	5.2	5.4

The correlations between the five variables are globally presented in table 34.

TABLE 34

Correlations of the Husbands and Wives of the
Three Groups in the Five Variables

SGALES	GROUPS	SELF		SPOUSE		MAI	
		H	W	H	W	H	W
IHS	A	0.64	-0.01	0.26	0.08	0.52	0.15
	B	0.21	0.16	0.03	0.11	0.08	0.13
	C	0.04	0.41	-0.09	-0.06	0.03	0.09
TAT	A	0.02	0.37	0.34	-0.07	0.36	0.09
	B	-0.11	0.45	-0.14	0.43	-0.15	0.45
	C	-0.20	0.22	-0.42	0.03	-0.29	0.12
SELF	A			0.00	0.70	0.47	0.83
	B			0.68	0.30	0.82	0.87
	C			0.79	0.19	0.96	0.49
SPOUSE	A					0.85	0.93
	B					0.97	0.98
	C					0.89	0.94

If we study these correlations and the means as well of the husbands in all three groups they appear to have obtained higher hostility scores than their respective wives. Comparing these scores with the scores on self and spouse evaluation obtained by the same husbands we notice that the hostile husbands (group A) tend to evaluate themselves more

favorably than they evaluate their own wives. The low-hostility husbands (group C) however present a more balanced and objective distribution of their scores if compared with their wives'.

This seems to confirm in the general the first half of our subsidiary hypothesis that hostile husbands would tend to score themselves more favorably than their mates. The second half of this hypothesis-the wives' evaluation of themselves and their mates-was not supported by our findings. There was no identifiable trend among wives. This seems to indicate the state of upheaval and turmoil in which we are at the present concerning the role and expectations in marriage. Cultural and societal changes have taken place and are in many areas and maybe the lack of substantiation in our study one way or the other reflects this existing confusion. Total adjustment seems to be equally related to both variables self and spouse perception.

Hostility and Need-Structure

In order to qualify the validity of our hypothesis we still have to say something about the relationship between personality as a whole and hostility. We know that perceptions of self and spouse are not "real" or objective measures of persons. (Luckey, 1964). We have to look for something more basic and essential which may explain the relationship of hostility to the total functioning of a person.

When talking about personality organization we think of needs:

"A need is a construct (a convenient fiction or hypothetical concept) which stands for a force (the physico-chemical nature of which is unknown) in the brain region, a force which organizes perception, apperception, intellection, conation and action in such a way as to transform in a certain direction an existing, unsatisfying situation...it manifests itself by leading the organism to search for or to avoid encountering or when encountered, to attend and respond to certain kind of press..." (Murray, 1962)

Particularly interesting is the concept of perceptual defense and selective sensitization introduced first by Postman & al. (1948) and expanded and experimentally tested by Eriksen (1950). When the subject is presented with a stimulus his needs can act either as a sensitizer or alternative (perceptual defenses). A sensitizer is a need that lowers the recognition threshold for need-related stimuli, and an alternative effect and raises the recognition thresholds. This twofold function of a need in the total organization of personality is of paramount importance in those situations in which the individual interacts with his environment.

With this distinction in mind we should be able to understand what happens, say when the husband affirms that his relationship with his wife is satisfying. In a satisfying relationship his needs become acceptable to himself receiving little or no inhibition in their conscious or overt expression. On the other hand when an unsatisfying relationship the needs

are acceptable and are kept from overt or conscious expression. Acceptable needs would then tend to lower the perceptual recognition thresholds for need related stimuli. The individual would have a feeling of well-being, nonthreat and satisfaction. Unacceptable needs would tend to raise the perceptual recognition thresholds. This lowering or raising of perceptual thresholds varies then with the degree of acceptability or unacceptability of the individual's own needs and seems to be important in the genesis of hostility especially when the individual's perceptions of self and of others offer no other freeing solutions from the threat imposed on the subject.

A satisfying marriage is satisfying for the individual is capable within that relationship to accept and consciously express his own needs. He does not have to deny or distort them. In the case of an unhappy marriage the process of raising the perceptual defenses often becomes too rigid reinforced by external pressures, exerting a negative influence in the person's ability to deal with conflicts and creating a vague feeling of frustration and dissatisfaction which colors and endangers the total functioning of his ability. Hostility is the built-in reaction of the individual to his own frustration in a lock-up situation. One of the partners may trigger off a whole process of reactivity by just shutting off the doors for a better understanding but the process itself has

nothing to do with that partner, he or she has become only the occasion. Hostility in its origin is believed closely related to the individual's way of handling these problems-situations but the handling depends a great deal on personality structure.

We said before that hostility was related to self-perception. Our hypothesis is to be tested here is whether this perception of self is a function of need structure of the individual. In other words do high-hostility couples differ in any manner from the low hostility couples.

In testing our hypothesis we shall concentrate on six main needs: exhibitionism, abasement, nurturance, succorance, dominance, and aggression. Our main reason is one of economy but also because although there have been global studies (Katz, Gluchsbarg & Krauss, 1960) on the relationship between needs and marital satisfaction we would like to specify more the relationship between these six needs and marital adjustment, we feel that these needs have specifically something to do with the process of self-perception and aggressive behavior.

At this point, we also would venture a subsidiary hypothesis. We predict that abasement and aggression are better related to hostility and maladjustment than nurturance and succorance. Exhibitionism is equally related to both. We shall finish this section with few comments on the Winch's

theory of complementary needs and marital satisfaction.

The testing of our hypothesis will be done in three different stages. First, we will present the general picture of needs structure for couples of the three different groups taken as units. Secondly, we shall study the need structure of husbands and wives in each group taken individually and relate it to other variables as hostility, adjustment and self and spouse perceptions. Finally, we shall discuss the interspousal correlations of their needs. This last stage will involve an analysis of the following:

1. husband's exhibitionism and wife's exhibitionism
2. husband's abasement and wife's abasement
3. husband's dominance and wife's dominance
4. husband's succorance and wife's succorance
5. husband's nurturance and wife's nurturance
6. husband's aggression and wife's aggression

We shall pay especial attention to the analysis of correlations such as

1. husband's succorance and wife's nurturance
2. husband's nurturance and wife's succorance
3. husband's aggression and wife's abasement
4. husband's abasement and wife's aggression.

TABLE 35

Means and SD for the Needs of all Couples
of the Three Groups

GROUPS	EXH		ABA		NUR		SUC		DOM		AGG	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
A	14.6	3.1	16.4	5.7	15.4	5.2	47.9	27.5	58.2	31.0	63.6	26.2
B	14.4	3.8	15.4	5.5	17.9	4.1	51.3	28.4	60.6	29.8	46.7	28.7
C	14.6	3.4	14.3	5.3	16.9	4.9	39.3	24.8	75.8	22.6	33.8	24.7

A brief look at tables 35 and 36 tells us that there is no significant differences in need structure for couples of all the three groups. It is interesting to see that practically the three groups have the same amount of exhibitionism, abasement and nurturance, except maybe for abasement for couples in group A and C. This appears to corroborate the conclusions of our previous section on the relationship between adjustment and self-perception. Couples in group A seem to experience greater need to talk about and look upon themselves more negatively and to feel their inability to handle situations. There is no doubt that we find more signs of self-assertion and confidence in group C than A and B. Nurturance scores show some typical features. The differences between groups A and B is more significant and greater than expected between A and C. This is also found when comparing individuals husbands and

wives. But then the high differences are only for husbands and wives. A mechanism of undoing seems to be here responsible for a need to show interest and kindness to other people except their own partners, to confide in others with their problems. This apparently is done in different fashions more often by husbands than wives in conflicting situations. Significant values are in regard to succorance, dominance and aggression. The difference is more remarkable as expected between the groups on the extreme of the continuum (A-C) than between continuous groups (A-B or B-C). (Table 36)

TABLE 36

T Values for Means in Need Structure for all
Couples of all Groups

GROUPS	EXH	ABA	NUR	SUCC	DOM	AGG
A-B	.33	.75	-2.30*	.58	.36	2.60*
A-C	-.03	1.71*	-1.31	1.72*	-2.93*	5.29**
B-C	-.35	.96	.92	2.29*	-2.60*	2.39*

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Happily married couples show higher scores in dominance but lower in aggression and succorance. The same characteristic is for both husbands and wives. (Table 37) This appears to confirm what we have said before about self-evalua-

tion, hostility and adjustment. Individuals with lower self-esteem show more hostility and tend to be more dependent on other's approval.

TABLE 37

Means and SD of Need Structure for Husbands
and Wives Separately

		EXH		ABAS		NURT		SUCC		DOM		AGG	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
A	H	14.9	3.3	14.3	6.7	13.1	5.3	54.5	27.3	69.6	29.3	65.7	27.18
	W	14.3	2.9	18.5	3.3	17.7	4.0	43.5	25.2	46.9	29.1	61.5	25.7
B	H	14.0	2.9	14.9	6.0	16.5	4.1	53.3	28.7	68.4	25.8	44.2	27.0
	W	14.8	2.7	16.0	4.9	19.2	3.7	52.0	26.9	52.9	32.1	51.4	29.2
C	H	15.0	3.7	12.7	4.5	15.1	4.9	40.8	25.4	79.0	20.0	32.6	19.9
	W	14.2	3.0	15.9	5.6	18.7	4.3	37.7	24.8	72.6	25.0	35.1	29.3

Product Moment Correlations either for couples or for individual husband and wives (tables 38 and 39) adds a little more understanding to this picture.

TABLE 38

Correlations of all Need Variables with
Hostility and Adjustment for all Couples

SCALES	GROUPS	MAI	EXH	ABA	NUR	SUCC	DOM	AGG
IHS	A	.25	.23	.15	-.18	-.30	.23	.45
	B	.11	-.08	.30	-.15	-.01	-.30	-.01
	C	.04	.10	-.04	-.24	.05	-.10	.20
TAT	A	.13	.05	.12	-.12	-.06	.00	.28
	B	.07	-.19	.31	.27	-.32	-.11	.28
	C	-.20	-.03	.02	-.07	.18	.04	.30
MAI	A		.01	.18	.18	-.18	.27	.08
	B		-.25	.22	.12	.21	-.35	-.17
	C		-.07	.28	.37	.19	-.22	.06
EXH	A			-.16	-.15	-.14	.16	-.01
	B			-.30	-.28	-.45	.22	.18
	C			-.15	-.27	-.12	-.02	-.01
ABA	A				.25	-.04	-.47	-.03
	B				.20	.13	-.69	-.11
	C				.15	.10	-.49	-.11
NUR	A					-.18	-.43	.09
	B					.10	-.27	-.20
	C					.20	.20	-.24
SUCC	A						.11	.04
	B						-.19	.25
	C						-.08	.12
DOM	A							.03
	B							.21
	C							.05

These correlations are low and negative. This was expected. In general correlations between need-variables follow the same direction than the intercorrelations of variables obtained by Edwards in his original validation study of the EPFS (Edwards, 1954, 1959). From this we can reaffirm the representativeness of our sample as drawn from an average population where extremes of pathology had been excluded. Another observation from the correlations is that they seem to support the null hypothesis which stated that virtually there was no significant difference between high-hostility and low-hostility couples in terms of need-structure. In other words need-structure has little to do with marital adjustment or maladjustment. The same need-structure consistently reappears in all couples and individuals of all couples and individuals of all groups.

There are few other observations we can infer from our data:

1. The TAT would have probably correlated higher with need-structure had the aggressive scale been constructed rather in terms of needs and drives than in terms of external behavior.
2. The MAI appear to be a poor predictor of marital adjustment and poor indicator of interaction. It appears too superficially involved in identifying problems and situations of the dysfunctional couple. Its strength is in regard of self and mate

perception.

3. Turning now to the relationship of needs we find that Exhibitionism relates better with dominance than with aggression. It seems that dominance is more characteristic of low hostility couples whereas aggression implies more destructive tendencies, and appears more within the high-hostility couples.. The same relationship appears between IHS and TAT and aggression and dominance (Table 38). Abasement is greater than nurturance and succorance for high hostility groups and better correlated with nurturance than with succorance. In other words high hostility couples tend to help and assist others and show great deal of affection rather than to seek affection or receive sympathy from others. The compensatory character of this mechanism could be explained in terms of the perceptual defense of the individual. In addition to this and connected with it, couples with poorer self concept seem to have a stronger tendency to show nurturance than couples with better self concepts.

From the evidence presented here we can conclude that we do not find enough support for the hypothesis of need structure as being responsible for the different groups. In regard to the subsidiary hypothesis, both have been supported by our findings: Exhibitionism seems to be the same for all couples of all groups but abasement and aggression are better related to maladjustment and hostility, and aggression are better related. The relationship does not reach any level of significance.

Let us not turn to the interspousel correlations of needs for husbands and wives and see if their marital satisfaction or unsatisfaction has anything to do with their hostility. In other words let us see in terms of Winch's theory of complementary needs which are our findings (Table 42, 43).

TABLE 40

Interspousel Correlations of Six Needs
for Couples of all Groups

Direction	Variables	Groups		
		A	B	C
-	Husband's Exh-Wife's Exh	.03	.04	.30
-	Husband's Aba-Wife's Aba.	-.21	.00	.14
-	Husband's Nurt-Wife'sNurt	-.06	.04	.39
-	Husband'sSucc-Wife'sSucc	.10	.23	.35
-	Husband'sDom-Wife'sDom	.21	.25	.27
-	Husband'sAgg-Wife's Agg	-.38	.39	.58

These correlations were low and not necessarily in the predicted direction. They do not support the type 1, of complementariness "a need is gratified in both person A and person B but at very different levels of intensity. A negative interspousal correlation is hypothesized" (Winch, 1967) Group C the low-hostility group obtained higher and more positive correlations. This seems to contradict the basic concept of complementarity. We can conclude that complementariness is not essential for the functional interaction.

TABLE 41

Interspousal Correlations of Needs
of Different Groups

Direction	Variables	Groups		
*	Husband's Succ.-Wife's Nurt.	.11	.08	.37
*	Husband's Nurt.-Wife's Succ.	-.25	-.07	.45
*	Husband's Agg.-Wife's Abas.	.07	-.38	-.21
*	Husband's Abas.-Wife's Aggr.	.10	.12	.11

⁴(N.20;df,18)

Type II of complementariness states that "different needs are gratified in A and B. The interspousal correlations may be hypothesized to be either positive or negative contingent upon the pair of needs involved" (Winch. 1967). Only eight of the sought correlations came out in a positive direction but they are not significant. Couples of group C where higher correlations were expected, presented one negative correlations and two low correlations.

As a whole we shall conclude this section by saying that our results support earlier studies, (Katz, Glucksberg & Krauss 1960) who found "the relationships of these needs contradictory to the complementary hypothesis". Although satisfaction and dissatisfaction complementarity is important to the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of the relationship it does not seem to be related to the hostility of the couple.

Conclusion

The main part of these pages will be dedicated to summarize what we have learned in our study. This will be done in three parts. The first part will be a final evaluation of the positive and negative contributions of our study. The second part will investigate possibilities for future research and the third and final part will concentrate on practical matters, namely the foundations for a new model of marriage counseling.

This study which was an empirical evaluation of correlations of hostility and marital maladjustment has added some valid information to the growing body of research into the relationship of marital interaction and adjustment. We have emphasized one aspect of the whole complex which in our opinion has been seriously overlooked by researchers, that of hostility and its implications into the dysfunctionality of the relationship between husband and wife.

We have found that the Iowa Hostility Scale is a better instrument in measuring hostility than the TAT Aggressive Content Scale of H. Stone. And we have surmised that this is so because both the IHS and the TAT Scales measure different aspects of the process of Hostility. The IHS seems more oriented toward social situations and superficial patterns of aggressive interaction without covering all the possibilities and gamuts of a hostile reaction. The TAT for one thing is quite unstructured and covers more than the social aspect of the variable, it goes beyond but whether it covers adequately both overt and covert behavior is a matter of dispute and controversy.

The correlations between hostility and adjustment again are significant only when using the scores obtained from the IHS. This may suggest that the MAI is also a superficial instrument in measuring the quality of the relationship and again pays more attention to situational factors which affect the relationship but leaves the relationship untouched. Structurally the MAI seems to have the relationship with the same technique of a 'priori' selection of items as the other known inventories. This may explain the differences of correlation when comparing the MAI and the TAT. As a final conclusion we should say that better instruments are needed to study

the relationship. Furthermore it appears pertinent to say that hostility is a complex which eludes any measurement. When measuring hostility, we seem to be dealing with an external finished outcome, a behavior characterized by antagonism not necessarily a process of interaction. The TAT Cards on the other hand in our opinion offer better possibilities to reach the process in its essence but a practical method has to be developed as yet. More understanding is needed of the whole process and of all the variables which intervene in any kind of thematic association. (Saltz & Epstein 1963)

Our next step was to correlate hostility with self and spouse perception in an attempt to study the origin of hostility in married couples. We found a direct positive relationship between self-perception and hostility but only an inverse relationship between self and spouse perceptions. This confirmed our initial hypothesis that hostility is related to the individual's makeup and the 'other' perception is in terms of this evaluation of self. But what is evaluation of self related to? This started off our questioning the relationship between hostility and need structure. Our initial hypothesis that hostility might be related to need structure and consequently different hostility groups should have different need structure did not prove to be valid. Need structure came out to be identi-

cal for all the couples of the three groups. It was then speculated that hostility might be related to a different process a more complex process- the couple's perceptual process. These are learned processes which do not necessarily represent an objective reality but rather a response to a stimulus undoubtedly containing certain distortions of reflection originated within the subject. This kind of "built-in" perception creates an initial feeling of satisfaction or dissatisfaction as the individual shows himself capable of accepting or rejecting his own needs as perceived by himself. This in turn reinforces the initial distortions and reflections. The spouse who is satisfied would tend to glorify the other partner the dissatisfied one would stress the unfavorable image of the mate. Now there is such a thing as 'operational situations' (Meier 1965) 'the sites within which the person is expected to function'. The sites can be defined "in terms of those factors and influences that are external to the person but that are relevant to his way of thinking, feeling and behaving." Each person has many operational situations in which he is expected to function and include persons, things, expectations, circumstances, and pressures that make it easy or hard for the individual. On a given time these situations may creasts a threat to the individual and if this is the case he would tend to muster all his resources to protect himself and keep a minimum of good function-

ing. Perceptual defenses may come to his help but if these become rigid and inoperant the individual may see himself in a lock-up situation. A feeling of frustration may creep in and stay together with a will to survive. But if the threat persists the individual may unexpectantly start giving up, showing signs of antagonism directed against his most immediate operational situation. Hostility is a process coming from the person as a response to stimuli (themselves, operational situations) which leaves him without any alternatives. Dynamically there is a double force in hostility: an antagonistic force, destructive in character and a desire to survive and succeed. Individuals within an unhappy marriage who have failed to both themselves and others (his wife) would tend to concentrate on the destructive, antagonistic aspects of hostility blocking their own way toward constructive solutions. This will imply the use of hostility as a defense to deal with basic feelings of guilt for significant failures in life. Within happy marriages the individuals are more capable to choose and employ hostility as a constructive force for better adjustment and growth.

Our final conclusion is that need structure no matter how important it is for the total process of satisfaction and dissatisfaction has little to do with hostile responses

of the couple. Hostility is a previous stage and implies real self and deal self, acceptance of himself and coping mechanisms. It is definitely related to basic mechanism of identification, gratification and object consistency. Other concomitant processes which may arise: rage, anger, resentment, determine the direction of this antagonism and color its expression.

We have in different sections of our study enumerated some of the main difficulties we have encountered. First we have the problem of instrumentation. On the one hand some of the best known tests or inventories have been constructed on the assumption that hostility is the outcome of frustration. This to us is a naive and arbitrary assumption. This type of instrument gives nothing but an account of the incidents hard to distinguish from other concomitant processes such as rage, anger, resentment etc. Other type of instruments appear to be extremely sophisticated and difficult to handle. Their validity still remains pretty vague and undetermined to guarantee objective results. Their contribution seems to consist on a new approach attempting to observe and evaluate the whole of hostility. This may lead to better conceptualizations that in turn may help to design more practical and valid instruments for the study of hostility. The TAT in particular offers potential for an answer to our problem of instrumentation. But it still remains pretty much unexplored as a whole especially when mea-

asuring processes in a dyadic situation. The real issue with the TAT is whether it measures overt, covert or phantasied behavior and how validly can predict it. The present state of affairs seems to indicate that the TAT depends largely on inferences in-terpretations and experience of the tester. Our study with the Aggressive Content Scale of H. Stone confirms this criticism.

Another big limitation we have found is that of definition and concepts. We have seen this again and again. Definitions of happiness, adjustment, personality and hostility are largely based on theoretical orientations and are conceptualized differently. We have chosen simple operational definitions with the hope of clarifying the issues and pinpointing the essence of the variables. This may help us to work our way to better concepts based on expirical findings.

There is a third limitation we encountered in our study. It has to do with our sample. We talked before about its representativeness and size but now we want to mention its biased character. Our sample is basically a prejudiced sample: catholics, whites, middle class couples, from Chicago etc. this limits the conclusions of the study and warns us against overgeneralizations. More research is needed in different parts of the country to be able to draw valid conclusions.

Now let us say a word about the positive

contribution of our study:

1. The instruments we have used despite their limitations, seem to offer something positive especially the TAT and EPPS. The TAT we have said offers good potentials for the evaluation of the interactional situations but more research is needed. The EPPS is a good instrument to acquire a basic understanding of the need-structure of the mates. This is badly needed in research where our point of departure ought to be the relationship as it exists in concrete so we can study and look into the number of variables which intervene. Experimentally we should concentrate on the use of the EPPS with engaged couples and with the same couples at the later date after few years of marriage measuring their total adjustment and amount of satisfaction. This approach may prove the EPPS to be a good predictor of marital adjustment.
2. With our study we have become more convinced of the importance of the relationship and we have realized the tremendous frustration when unable to spell it out in clearer manner. The suggestion that the relationship in general and perceptions of self and spouse in concrete are important to marital interaction has been known to all the counselors for many years but it is important to bring this back into focus because very little has been done in terms of new models and methods toward the modification

of self and others perceptions through counseling.

3. This leads me back into hostility. The chances are that the average couple bogged down in the marasm of their insightless daily routine and fights may continue on with the same approach and within the same destructive outlooks until one of them practically breaks up. A more practical method would be to help the couple from the very beginning to understand their hostility and analyze the causes and change their perceptual functioning. A good model to bring all this into realization could follow the lines suggested by Fueshbach (Appendix III) and should not ignore the outline of interaction between the person and his operational situations as aimed by Meier (1965). Any model should contain a phase of observation of analysis, a phase of relearning of new perceptual modes involving the self and the others and finally a phase of training and conditioning. The highly manipulative character of this approach should not upset us unnecessarily. We do not claim it to be a panacea but in our experience of marriage counseling we have found a vast majority of regressive couples, in need not so much of understanding of their dynamics but of vital changes. The understanding is not always needed although it can be helpful especially at later stages. The process of interaction 'per se' is not an intellectual but experiential process and once the individual has changed his perceptual frame of reference the whole

direction and reorientation of his basic personality structure will just 'happen'. This could prove to be more reasonable and at the long run more practical than other existing treatments. This model offers another good feature and that is its flexibility to implement other techniques which may help for the ultimate goal of recreating the relationship. Any technique which has as a goal the betterment of the relationship and is kept within the essential orientation of family therapy should be experimented.

Much is to be done in terms of research. This whole area of developing new models should be taken seriously. But I feel that many school prejudices and fears of innovations may prevent us from the discovery of better approaches. More research is certainly needed in areas such as: husband-wife interaction and mutual influence as therapists. We certainly possess a powerful instrument. The whole success of this approach would depend largely on whether they really want to make a goal out of their marriage. Research is also needed in developing practical tasks as means to understand the relationship better. Structured family interviews (Wazzlawick, 1966) or thematic situations as developed by Saltz & Epstein (1963) may offer positive advantages for observation and analysis.

Finally we sponsor a complete revision and

APPENDIX

I

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A P P E N D I X

II

IOWA HOSTILITY SCALE

Instructions. You must answer all the statements of this Inventory. Read each statement carefully and then select one of the four according to what you believe of the statement itself. (very false, false, true, very true)

1. It takes a lot of argument to convince most people of the truth.
2. I commonly wonder what hidden reason another person may have for doing something nice for me.
3. I feel that I have often been punished without cause.
4. I often feel like a powder keg ready to explode.
5. I tend to be on my guard with people who are somewhat more friendly than I expected.
6. When you come right down to it, there are only a few people whom you are likely to find companionable.
7. It is generally a mistake to maintain a friendship with the same person over a long period of time.
8. I frequently revise my opinions of people in a downward direction.
9. I must admit that it makes me angry when other people interfere with my daily activity.
10. I am often said to be hot-headed.
11. People generally demand respect for their own rights but are unwilling to respect the rights of others.

12. Some people are so bossy that I feel like doing the opposite of what they request even though I know they are right.
13. I've met a lot of children who would benefit from a good spanking.
14. If I let people see the way I feel, I'd be considered a hard person to get along with.
15. Most people are honest entirely through fear of being caught.
16. I deeply dislike one or more persons whom I see almost every day.
17. It is safer to trust nobody.
18. Sometimes I enjoy hurting persons I love.
19. I easily become impatient with people.
20. Politics are nothing but self-interest and graft.
21. Most people would use unfair means to gain profit or an advantage rather than lose it.
22. I am sure I get a raw deal out of life.
23. Horses that don't pull ought to be beaten or kicked.
24. I have reason for feeling jealous of one or more members of my family.
25. Some of my family have habits that bother and annoy me very much.
26. I have often found people jealous of my good ideas just because they had not thought of them first.
27. It takes me a long time to get over being angry.

28. In my daydreams, I often get the better of someone else.
29. I like to poke fun at people.
30. I have had quite a few quarrels with members of my family.
31. I've noticed that I let a lot of unimportant details irritate me.
32. I am often tempted to go out of my way to win a point with someone who has opposed me.
33. Families are frequently a nuisance.
34. I feel mildly resentful much of the time.
35. My parents and family find more fault with me than they should.
36. I am irritated a great deal more often than people are aware of.
37. There are certain people I dislike so much that I am inwardly pleased when they are catching it for something they've done.
38. Sometimes I feel as if I must injure either myself or someone else.
39. Something exasperates me almost every day.
40. I do not try to cover up my poor opinion or pity of a person so that he won't know how I feel.
41. If people had not had it in for me I would have been much more successful.

42. I think a great many people exaggerate their misfortune to get the sympathy and help of others.
43. No one cares much what happens to you.
44. Having to wait for someone usually makes me grouchy.
45. I am often so annoyed when someone tries to get ahead of me in a line of people that I feel like speaking to him about it.

APPENDIX

III

FESBACH'S FLOW CHART
OF AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR
(an explanation)

Feshbach (1964) presented a fairly simple flow chart for aggressive behavior. The Flow Chart for Aggressive Response suggests how this model can be amplified by considering the role of additional variables described earlier. Choice Point 1 denoted the classification of a stimulus as obstructing, threatening, habitually noxious--all defined as aversive or as not aversive. Where objective stimulus conditions are constant, the habit of classifying a member of certain stimulus subsets into the subjective subset of "noxious stimuli" may be viewed as being equivalent to the hostility syndrome, while the likelihood of perceiving a stimulus as threatening or obstructing might be seen as related to, respectively, self-esteem, and the ability to perceive alternative goals or alternative goal paths to the original goal.

The role of autonomic arousal in general, not necessarily labeled as anger, at this point consists simply in eliminating alternatives of classification. More important than the autonomic state appears to be a person's momentary perceptual orientation at the time he is faced with the stimulus. He may be anticipating noxious, threatening, or obstructing events, and thereby increase the likelihood of classifying them accordingly. The effect of arousal at this point is, then, that of a probabilistic

operator, which changes the likelihood that a stimulus will be classified in a certain way.

Choice Point 2. represents the initiation of a goal response.

It is assumed that a stimulus categorized as not aversive has an initial probability of zero of evoking an aggressive fractional anticipating goal response, while noxious, obstructing, or threatening stimuli all have equal probabilities greater than (or equal to) zero of initiating an aggressive response. It is at this point that the construct "aggressive tendency" or "aggressive habit" becomes relevant. It plays the role of a probabilistic operator and, for reasons of economy, may be viewed as identical across classifications though, of course, differing across subjects.

Stimulus classification (at Choice Point 1) affected by both dispositional and situational determinants, can be conceptualized as standing in a multiplicative relationship to aggressive habit. Where a not aversive classification has been made or where aggressive habit is extremely low, the likelihood of an aggressive response being initiated becomes very small.

At Choice Point 1, anger may be present for two of the reasons discussed earlier. It may be an initially

classically conditioned, later operant-arousal state associated with a response choice and subsequently labeled anger (Shapiro, Crider, & Tursky, 1964), or it may be the result of deliberate self-stimulation, reinforced through previous, successful response activation; that is, the person talks himself into a rage (Brehm, Back, & Bogdonoff, 1964). The role of autonomic arousal here is thus seen as simply energizing rather than as affecting the likelihood of a choice.

Choice Point 3 deals with the dispositional inhibitory variables such as aggression anxiety. Such aggression anxiety is seen as a conditioned inhibitory response which may either, in the traditional Hullian sense, detract from the reaction potential of the ongoing aggressive response, or, through a feed-back-loop, result in the selection of an alternative response. (The selection of an alternative response can also be accounted for the traditional paradigm by referring to response hierarchies, where a new response becomes dominant if another one is inhibited. However, the notion of feed back and cognitive re-evaluation of an ongoing response is a useful one in this instance.)

Choice Point 4 refers to the situational, including the social, determinants of the situation. The functions of these determinants

may be viewed as permitting the person to mediate anticipated rewards or punishments which appear to be likely outcomes of his present ongoing response. The effect of these determinants is either to "clear" the ongoing response for completion, or to bring about a return to Choice Point 2 for selection of an alternate response. This process may take place where the original ongoing response is aggressive, that is, the person perceives the inappropriateness of his response and modifies it, or it may in some instances lead to the initiation of an aggressive response, even though the original response was nonaggressive. In the case where a stimulus had been classified as not aversive at Choice point 1, and initiated a nonaggressive response, we should have the equivalent of attack against a target for purely social or similar reward expectations. It is important to note that repeated social aggression of this nature through classical conditioning may soon lead to a greater probability that a set of stimuli will be classified as noxious at Choice Point 1.

Choice Point 4 may also result in a return to Choice Point 1, that is a reevaluation of the stimulus itself. Again, this reevaluation may take place by classifying a stimulus initially perceived as not aversive into one of the three aversive categories, or vice versa.

Once the aggressive or nonaggressive response has been completed, the subject's evaluation of the outcome may be assumed to take place. It is at this late stage that autonomic arousal or anger may occur or endure as a dissonance or anxiety reduce.

The present classification suggests that the dispositional determinants of perceiving stimuli in a certain manner (Choice Point 1) and strength of aggressive habit (Choice Point 2) should be susceptible to retraining, but such a retraining process could be quite lengthy. Building up inhibitions at Choice Point 3 may be a questionable strategy, since it implies less aggressive behavior, where aggressive response tendency is held constant, but also greater conflict. The opportunities represented by Choice Point 4 consist of making the likelihood of a favorable social or other payoff for aggression lower, or, preferably, of raising the expectation of a favorable payoff for a nonaggressive response. The general approach here has been either to induce a-re-evaluation of the stimulus, discussed by Pastore (1952), Pepitone (1958), and Feshbach (1964), or to encourage a new response to a stimulus which need not necessarily be perceived as less objectionable than before (Kaufmann & Feshbach 1963a, 1963b). Such a modification of

an ongoing response may, but need not, be "frustrating," in that it is perceived as a threat or a path obstruction. As the second Kaufmann & Feshback (1963b) study indicated, the determining factor may be whether a person refrains from aggression because he fears punishment or guilt, or because the rewards of nonaggression promise to exceed those of aggression.

APPENDIX

IV

LETTERS

To happily married couples

Dear Couple:

I have become acquainted with you and your name through one of the priest friends of your family. I had written to 200 priests of the Archdiocese of Chicago, asking each one of them to forward to us the names of ten couples willing to cooperate with us in a pilot study on Family Dynamics and Marriage Dynamics.

I am a graduate student from Loyola University, and I will be in charge of the above mentioned study. This study, by the way, will be mainly concerned with unhappily married couples seeking help from our office. But we need a controlling group of as many happily married couples as we can find in order to determine the factors which contribute to the maladjustment of the sick marriages. Your cooperation will be deeply appreciated.

You would be asked to come to our downtown office at your own convenience, only once, for a period of an hour or so. During this time you will answer a couple of questionnaires and take a very simple test on marital adjustment for which you will not need any preparation of any kind whatsoever. The results of our study as well as the results of your own personal testing will be available to you if you wish, otherwise the identity of the results will be protected.

I am enclosing a form that I will appreciate your filling out and sending back to us as soon as possible. I hope that you, as many other couples in the past have done, will find this an interesting and rewarding experience. If you have any questions do not hesitate to get in touch with me. You can call me at any time at your convenience. I shall be, Monday through Friday at LA 5--0453 or on my private line LA 5-3639 and Tuesday through Friday, in the afternoons, at the downtown office, Ha7-7072.

With my many thanks again and hoping to hear from you soon,
I remain,

Sincerely yours,

To unhappily married couples

Dear Couple,

We and our services are probably already known to you. We have become sort of familiar to each other. Today we have a different thing in mind. We need you and your cooperation and that is what this letter is about. I am a graduate student from Loyola University, presently working with the Catholic Family Consultation Service. I am trying to collect objective information for a research project on Family Dynamics and Marital Interaction, and we feel that both of you because of your experiences, can help us better than anybody else.

Your cooperation would require from one to two hours of your time, during which you will be asked to fill out some questionnaires and scales which we feel can help us in our study.

From past experience with other couples, I am pretty sure that you will find this interesting and that possibly you will like to know the results of your work. The outcome will be made available at some time in the future and you will be given the opportunity to discuss your personal results with me, if you wish to do so.

So, if you feel that you can give us a little bit of your time and good will, let us know. In this case please sign the enclosed slip and return it to me as soon as possible.

If you have any questions you would like to ask me before committing yourselves, you can get in touch with me at the Catholic Family Consultation Service, Ha7-7072, or at my private phone LA5-0453-0454. If I am not available, you may leave a message and I will get in touch with you as soon as possible.

Now with my many thanks and hoping to hear from you soon,
I am ,

Sincerely yours,

To the priests of Catholic Family Movement.

Dear Father:

Let us start with a short hello. This is to ask you for a little bit of your time and cooperation. I am a graduate student from Loyola University, presently trying to collect objective information to set up a research project on Marital Conflicts and Adjustment.

As is already known to you, we are suffering a painful lack of scientific studies in the areas of Marriage and Family Dynamics which might be of positive help in the prevention and effective treatment of sick marriages. Furthermore, I am afraid that drastic structural changes in our society will impose upon us Catholics the responsibility of studying the facts in a more systematic manner. This certainly will not be possible without your cooperation.

My main difficulty when approaching this kind of problem is to find a reliable control group that will make our study significant. This is where you come into the picture. Would you be so kind and send me a list of ten couples of your acquaintance who, in your opinion, can be considered well adjusted and happily married? These couples should have the following characteristics:

- both parties should be Catholic
- both white
- both born in USA and Chicago residents (Chicago and suburbs)
- both high school graduates
- with a salary of \$5000.00 or over (per family)
- 35 years of age or less
- one year of marriage or more but less than 15 years of marriage
- no manifest conflicts or hostility in their relationship

My basic idea is to get 200 couples from which I would be able to sample out an ideal control group. My hope is that this study may crystallize into ideas that can be applied in your counseling work.

That's all for today. With my many thanks and deep appreciation for your kindness and hoping to hear from you soon, I remain,

Sincerely yours,